

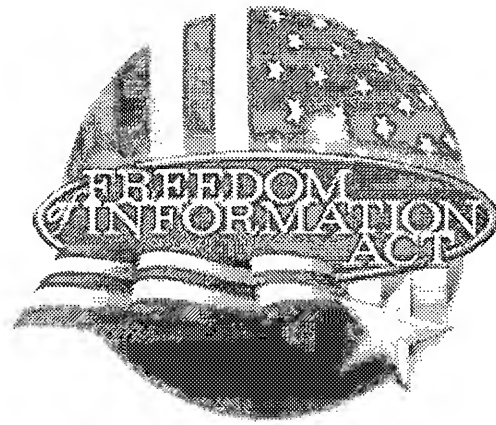
**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

**FILE NUMBER: 100-106670**

**SUB - A FILE**

**SECTION: 2**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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Martin Luther King Jr.

SUB - A FILE

100 - 106670

SECTION 2

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Editor's Outlook

## THE DEMAGOGUE KING

History, which owns some delicious ironies, will harbor still another in its reflections on the role of the Reverend Doctor Martin Luther King, Junior in the year 1964.

Unquestionably, for this individual, this was the year that was.

On the one hand, he received the Nobel Peace Prize after fomenting the greatest upheaval in this country since the Boston Tea Party.

On the other, he earned the dubious distinction of being labeled "the most notorious liar in the country" by no less an authority than the chief investigative officer of the United States Government.

Quite evidently, somebody is wrong about the man.

Could it be the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, which sits from afar to view men and events? Or could it be J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose knowledge of individuals and their activities in the United States is unsurpassed by that of any other single citizen in the nation?

Most Americans, we feel, would be inclined toward the judgment of

Hoover in any such choice. The Reverend Doctor's docile followers may regard him as a "sacred cow" because of the high esteem in which he is generally held by his people for his bold advocacy of social warfare under the guise of social welfare. But against that opinion historians will weigh in the balance the often outright anarchic pronouncements and postures of the Reverend Doctor, to which Hoover took strong exceptions, as well as the civil turmoils and disorders unleashed across the breadth of the nation, all under the winsome banner of "non-violence." These will not soon be forgotten, even in the long view of history.

In the meantime, this newspaper's judgment of 1962, when the Reverend Doctor brought his racial circus to Albany to turn us, as he vowed, "upside down," seems to have been vindicated by the FBI's chief. We said then that the Reverend Doctor was an arrogant demagogue. We say that again today.

Not even the Nobel Peace Prize can hide the feet of clay, which Mr. Hoover has now exposed as possessed by the rebellious man King.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city, and state.)

Editorial Page  
Albany Herald  
Albany, Georgia

Date: 11/19/64

Edition: Daily

Author:

Editor: JAMES H. GRAY

Title: CIRM

Character:

Classification:

Submitting Office: Atlanta

☐ Being Investigated

58 DEC 30 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-1-80 BY SP-169/13/82

100-106670-4  
NOT RECORDED  
125 DEC 30 1964



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# FBI Chief's Attack On Dr. King Stirs Roar of Protests

A wave of anger and protest swept the ranks of civil rights leaders today in the wake of J. Edgar Hoover's characterization of Dr. Martin Luther King as "the most notorious liar in the country."

The remark by Hoover about Dr. King, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize this year, provoked demands for his removal and denunciation of the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a "pygmy—both intellectually and morally."

## Rustin Reacts

One of the angriest reactions to Hoover's remark about Dr. King came from Bayard Rustin, a leader of the March on Washington and prominent in other civil rights programs. He said:

"Dr. King is considered a moral leader both in this country and among the people of the world. I think that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover is such a pygmy, both intellectually and morally, compared with Dr. King, that there is no way to answer his remarks or dignify them with an answer."

Whitney M. Young, executive director of the National Urban League, said it was "extremely unfortunate that one of our Americans who has been so universally recognized for providing moral leadership to the country should be attacked in this manner."

"As for Mississippi, I don't know the facts about the number of Northern-born agents who are there, but it is obvious an effective job is not being done to insure the full citizenship rights of Negro citizens in this state."

In Houston, Texas, a Mississippi civil rights leader, Aaron Henry, called Hoover a "sacred cow" who is "out of tune with the civil rights movement."

He said FBI agents too often "stand around taking notes when they should be making arrests. . . . If the FBI could find a pumpkin containing microfilm on Whittaker Chambers farm, they can find the murderers of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Miss. The hoodlum fringe isn't that foxy."

## Calls It Libel

Paul Zuber, a New York lawyer prominent in civil rights cases, said Hoover's remark was a "libelous statement," adding:

"I think it is up to the President to order him to give more facts. If he refuses, then I think the President will be left with no other choice but to remove him."

Dr. King, reported by aides to be vacationing in the Bahamas, was not available for comment.

Date, page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 NEW YORK WORLD  
TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

Date: 11/19/64  
Edition: 7th SPORTS  
Author:  
Editor: RICHARD D. PHILLIPS  
Title: WARREN COMMISSION

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: NYO

REC-117

NOT RECORDED  
16 DEC 29 1964

58 JAN 6 1965

Folson  
Belmont

Evans

Gale

Rosen

Sullivan

Tavel

Trotter

Tele Room

Holmes

Gandy

# FBI Chief Calls Martin Luther King 'The Most Notorious Liar in Country'

By United Press International

WASHINGTON.

FBI director J. Edgar Hoover said yesterday that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was "the most notorious liar in the country" for claiming FBI agents in Albany, Ga., would take no action on civil rights complaints because they are Southerners.

Caryl Rivers, Washington correspondent of the San Juan, Puerto Rico, newspaper El Mundo, reported that Mr. Hoover made the statement in a group interview with 20 women reporters who arranged periodic meetings with Washington officials.

UPI confirmed independently that the FBI director was quoted accurately. One source said Mr. Hoover "had had these things on his chest for a long time and felt this was as good a time as any to say something."



J. Edgar Hoover

Miss Rivers said Mr. Hoover took strong issue with Dr. King on the ground that the Nobel Prize winner and Negro civil rights leader distorted the facts about FBI activities in the South.

The FBI chief said Dr. King had told members of his organization not to report acts of violence to the FBI office in Albany because the agents there were all Southerners and would do nothing about the complaints. "The truth is," Mr. Hoover said, "that 70 per cent of the agents in the South were born in the North, and four out of the five agents in the Albany, Ga., office are Northerners."

The four Northern agents at Albany, the FBI said, were born at Kingston, N. Y.; Auburn, Ind.; Arlington, Mass., and St. Peter, Minn.

Mr. Hoover said he had attempted to confer with Dr. King to "clear up" the matter, but the Negro leader had not responded.

The FBI director also told the women reporters that agents sometimes find in their

The Washington Post and Times Herald

The Washington Daily News

The Evening Star

New York Herald Tribune

New York Journal-American

New York Mirror

New York Daily News

New York Post

The New York Times

The Worker

The New Leader

The Wall Street Journal

The National Observer

People's World

Date

NOV 19 1964

NOT RECORDED

46 DEC 17 1964

68 DEC 17 1964



Dr. Martin Luther King

Investigations of civil rights cases in the swamp country of Mississippi that the area is filled with "nothing but water moccasins, rattlesnakes and snake-necked sheriffs, and

they are all in the same category as far as I am concerned."

Mr. Hoover observed that the FBI and the Mississippi State Highway Patrol co-operated well in the investigation of the still-unsolved murder of three young civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., this summer.

But he also charged that in some areas sheriffs and deputy sheriffs themselves participated in racial violence.

He also discussed a recent case in McComb, Miss., in which nine white men pleaded guilty to bombing Negro homes and churches but were given suspended sentences.

"They ranged in age from 30 to 44, and the judge gave them suspended sentences because of their youth," he commented. "I don't know when youth ends. That was a scandalous thing to do."

He attributed most of the racial violence in the South to the Ku Klux Klan.

He said his agents had infiltrated the Klan but that his agency could not insure complete protection of civil rights workers in the South. He put it this way: "We're a fact-finding agency. We can't protect anybody, black or white. We can't wet nurse everybody who goes down South."

Mr. Hoover renewed his objections to the portion of the Warren Commission report that dealt critically with both the FBI and the Secret Service in connection with the assassination of President Kennedy.

He said the report was "not fair as far as the FBI is concerned" and was "a classic example of Monday morning quarterbacking."

He said the Secret Service was "hopelessly undermanned and ill-equipped to do the job it is supposed to do."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# FBI Chief Rips King

WASHINGTON (AP)—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has blasted the Warren Commission as "unfair and unjust" and called Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. "the most notorious liar in the country."

Hoover boiled over on these and other matters, including lenient "bleeding heart judges," in a lengthy interview Wednesday with a group of women reporters.

He angrily charged the Warren Commission with "a classic example of Monday morning quarterbacking" in discussing its report on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

The commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, has said the FBI failed to notify the Secret Service that the assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, was in Dallas last Nov. 22, the day Kennedy was slain.

In New York City alone, Hoover complained, 7,000 persons would have to be taken out of circulation every time a president makes a public appearance if it were deemed necessary to remove "every individual who might threaten the safety of the president."

However, the FBI director said, his office is turning over to the Secret Service the names of "thousands of beatniks, crackpots and kooks."

Hoover appeared before the commission last May 14 and told newsmen after testifying the panel was doing "a very thorough job." He said it had "even gone beyond what a reasonable man would have expected" in accumulating evidence.

Shortly after the commission issued its report Sept. 27, Hoover was entwined in controversy. The Washington Evening Star published Oct. 2 a copyright partial transcript of the FBI director's testimony, some of

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1

Jackson Daily  
News

Jackson, Miss.

Date: 11/19/64

Edition: Daily

Author:

Editor: James M. Ward

Title: Hoover Calls  
King a Liar

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Jackson

☐ Being Investigated

which was sharply critical of the State Department and some of the security measures taken to protect the president.

Wednesday he said there is "not a scintilla" of jealousy between the FBI and the Secret Service, which is charged by law with protecting presidents.

Efforts to reach the members of the Warren Commission, some of whom are traveling abroad, were not successful.

#### CALLS KING LIAR

Hoover let fly his blast at Dr. King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in discussing civil rights. He called the Negro integrationist who recently was named winner of the Nobel Peace Prize a liar for advising Negroes not to report any civil rights violations to the Albany, Ga., FBI office because the staff members were all Southerners.

When he asked King to make an appointment so he could prove that four of the five men were born in the North, Hoover said, King would not make the appointment.

The FBI director went off the record for further comments about the minister.

An aide to King said that he was vacationing in the Bahamas and would have nothing to say until today at the earliest.

But in Houston, Tex., Aaron Henry, a Mississippi NAACP member, told newsmen in an interview that FBI agents in Southern states generally are not in sympathy with civil rights.

"I'll go further than that," said Henry, a Clarksdale drug-gist. "J. Edgar Hoover is not in tune with civil rights."

In discussing civil rights with the women reporters, Hoover described as a "scandalous thing to do" the suspension by a McComb, Miss., judge of the sentences of nine men convicted of bombing and burning a church. He said the men were not young, as claimed, but ranged in age from 30 to 44.

But he said, "around Philadelphia, 30 men are imprisoned for the same thing."

There is police participation in crime also in several Midwestern cities, Hoover said. He advanced that as one reason for his opposition to a national police force.

"If they (local police) could write to a central clearing house for information you can imagine what harm they would do," Hoover said.

Then he went on to criticize "bleeding heart" judges and to discuss urban crime.

"You can't safely walk the streets of Washington, D.C., even in the daylight," Hoover said, citing as an example the mugging of the publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, Barry Bingham, and Mrs. Bingham in a Connecticut Avenue neighborhood.

An FBI spokesman said later that Hoover misspoke and that he was referring to a street attack by two men on Mark F. Ethridge, board chairman of the Courier-Journal and Louisville Times Co., and Mrs. Ethridge in October, 1957. The men later pleaded guilty to charges of attempted robbery.

As for New York City, Hoover said:

"Central Park — no one dares walk there even in the daytime and there are holdups on Fifth Avenue at 9:30 or 10 at night. There are pedestrians on the street and no one responds."

New York City Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm replied to Hoover's remark by saying there is very little crime in Central Park and "the crimes that do occur usually happen at night after the park is closed to the public." Arm said more than four million people use the park each year.

There were these other observations, too, in the interview, held at Hoover's invitation after the women reported to aid they wished to talk with him en masse as they had with other government officials:

— "The Secret Service is hopelessly ill-equipped and undemanding to do the job it is

expected to do, but I have enough headaches of my own."

— "All the lynchings and bombings of homes in the South" were the work of members of the Ku Klux Klan and the FBI knows "pretty well who they are."

— "We are looking into the activities of the Minutemen. There is nothing more like the Ku Klux Klan and we have done a job on them."

On other matters:

— Hoover said the FBI has never investigated the John Birch Society and said "I have no respect for the head of the society, Robert Welch."

— Hoover said the FBI is watching the activities of the Black Muslims.

Director of the FBI since 1924, Hoover has been told by President Johnson his tenure will be extended "for as long as I am in the White House." The FBI chief is 69.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# King Accuses Hoover of Vilifying Name

Journal Wire Services

Atlanta, Ga.—The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Thursday wired FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that he was "appalled and surprised" at Hoover's attack on him. The Negro integration leader sent his telegram to Hoover from Bimini, in the Bahamas, where he is preparing his acceptance address for the Nobel peace prize. King's Atlanta office made the text public.



Rev. King

Reacting strongly to Hoover's statement Wednesday to a group of women reporters that King was "the most notorious liar in the country" for alleging that the FBI had not done its proper job in Albany, Ga., because the agents there were southerners, King accused Hoover of "maliciously attacking my integrity" and added:

"What motivated such an irresponsible accusation is a mystery to me."

King acknowledged that he had "sincerely questioned" ef-

fectiveness of the FBI in racial incidents, "particularly where bombings and brutality against Negroes are at issue."

## Says Question Is Broader

King said, however, that he had never attributed this merely to the presence of southerners in the FBI.

"This is part of the broader question of federal involvement in the protection of Negroes in the south, and the seeming inability to gain convictions in even the most heinous crimes perpetrated against civil rights workers," he said.

King reminded Hoover that no arrests had been made in Albany for "brutality" against Negroes, in the deaths of four Negro children at a Birmingham church bombing, or in the case of three slain civil rights workers in Mississippi.

## Denies Getting Request

King suggested that since the FBI worked with local officers on car thefts, bank robberies and other interstate crimes, "it is difficult for them to function effectively in cases where the rights and safety of Negro citizens are being threatened by these same law enforcement officers."

Hoover said he had tried without success to get a meeting with King to convince him he was wrong in calling the Albany FBI agents southerners. King told the FBI chief that he had sought in vain for any record of that request.

"I will be happy to discuss this question with you at length in the near future," King said. "I have always made myself available to all FBI agents of the Atlanta office and encouraged our staff and affiliates to co-operate with them, in spite of the fact that many of our people have suspicions and distrust of the FBI as a result of the slow pace of justice in the south."

In a separate statement released with the telegram, King said:

"I cannot conceive of Mr. Hoover making a statement like this without being under extreme pressure. He has apparently faltered under the awesome burdens, complexities and responsibilities of his office."

"I cannot engage in a public debate with him. I have nothing but sympathy for this man, who has served his country so well."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Part 1, Page 3  
THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Date: 11/19/64  
Edition: LATEST  
Author:  
Editor: LINDSAY HOBEN  
Title: RESEARCH MATTERS

Character:

or

Classification:

MILWAUKEE

23  
11-19-64



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## King Charges FBI Boss Is Overburdened

BIMINI, Bahamas (AP) — Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who blasted him as a "notorious liar," "is a man faltering under the heavy burden and the criticisms of his office."

The Negro integration leader struck back at Hoover in an interview by accusing the FBI of "following the path of appeasement of political powers in the South."

And he said that "if this continues, the reign of terror in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia will increase rather than subside."

King, who came to this tiny Bahamaian island off the Florida coast to write his speech accepting the Nobel Peace Prize, said he was certain that Hoover "would not have made such a vicious accusation without being under extreme pressure."

"This pressure," he said, "has come on the racial front and from the Warren Report raising serious questions about the effectiveness of the FBI."

### IRRESPONSIBLE CHARGE

King branded as irresponsible a charge by Hoover that King lied about actions of federal agents in Albany, Ga.

A telegram to Hoover from King, who is in the Bahamas, was released in Atlanta by his office. King wired Hoover he had questioned the FBI's effectiveness in racial incidents.

Hoover said Wednesday that King was "the most malicious liar in the South."

Negro complaints because no agents were Southerners.

In his telegram to Hoover, King denied he had attributed what he termed FBI ineffectiveness to the heritage of agents.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1

Jackson Daily  
News

Jackson, Miss.

Date: 11/19/64

Edition: Daily

Author:

Editor: James M. Ward

Title: King Says Hoover  
Overburdened

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Jackson, Miss.

File Number: 100-441101-1000

DEC 7 1964

DEC 8 1964

Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
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UPI-105 (HOOVER)  
 NEW YORK--THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) TODAY CALLED FBI  
 DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER'S CRITICISM OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING "BOTH  
 INTEMPERATE AND UNFORTUNATE."  
 A CORE SPOKESMAN SAID THAT ALTHOUGH FBI ACTION IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS  
 FIELD HAS "SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED" IN THE PAST YEAR, "IT MUST BE  
 REMEMBERED THAT FOR MANY YEARS PRIOR TO THE PRESENT CIVIL RIGHTS  
 CRISIS THE FBI HAS BEEN LAX IN IMPLEMENTING EXISTING LEGISLATION AND  
 PROTECTING THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF NEGROES AND CORE WORKERS THROUGHOUT  
 THE NATION."  
 11/19--GE146P

*Appel*  
 100-106  
 DEC 1 1964

*File*  
 100-10660

*F-13*  
 1-X-2120X 8-8-11-12

70 DEC 1 1964

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE



# Hoover Criticism Draws King Retort

By the Associated Press

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover drew a quick reaction today with his criticism of the Warren Commission and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Hoover, in an interview yesterday with a group of women reporters, charged the commission with "a classic case of Monday morning quarterbacking" in criticizing the FBI for not notifying the Secret Service that Lee Harvey Oswald, President John F. Kennedy's assassin, was in Dallas.

And he called King, a Negro civil rights leader, "the most notorious liar in the country" because, Hoover said, King asserted that FBI agents in Albany, Ga., failed to act on Negro complaints because the agents were Southerners.



—AP Photo

J. EDGAR HOOVER

## Telegram From King

In a telegram to Hoover today, King denied he had attributed any FBI ineffectiveness on civil rights matters to its agents' heritage. He added in a statement:

"I cannot conceive of Mr. Hoover making a statement like this without being under extreme pressure. He has apparently faltered under the awesome burdens, complexities and responsibilities of his office. Therefore, I cannot engage in public debate with him. I have nothing but sympathy for this man who has served his country so well."

Allen W. Dulles, a member of the Warren Commission

which investigated John F. Kennedy's assassination, told a reporter he had no specific comment on Hoover's complaints about the report.

But Dulles, a former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, lauded Hoover's "great service" to the nation and said "it would be a pity" if the commission report were taken as criticism of the long service Hoover and the FBI have rendered to the country.

There was certainly no intention "to denigrate in any way the great service Mr. Hoover has rendered to this country."

He also said Hoover had been

Belmont  
Mohr  
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Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

100-106670-4  
NOT RECORDED  
126 DEC 1 1964

The Washington Post and Times Herald  
The Washington Daily News  
The Evening Star  
New York Herald Tribune  
New York Journal-American  
New York Mirror  
New York Daily News  
New York Post  
The New York Times  
The Worker  
The New Leader  
The Wall Street Journal  
The National Observer  
People's World  
Date

70 DEC 1 1964

NOV 19 1954

of "great service" to the commission in its investigation.

Hoover boiled over on many matters, including Supreme Court justices, lenient "bleeding heart judges," police corruption and juvenile delinquency in the lengthy interview.

The finding by the commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, that the FBI failed to notify the Secret Service that Oswald was in Dallas the day Kennedy was slain drew much of Hoover's ire.

In New York City alone, Hoover complained, 7,000 persons would have to be taken out of circulation every time a president makes a public appearance if it were deemed necessary to remove "every individual who might threaten the safety of the president."

However, the FBI director said, his office is turning over to the Secret Service the names of "thousands of beatniks, crackpots and kooks."

Hoover appeared before the commission last May 14 and told newsmen after testifying the panel was doing "a very thorough job." He said it had "even gone beyond what a reasonable man would have expected" in accumulating evidence.

#### No Jealousy

Shortly after the commission issued its report Sept. 27, Hoover was entwined in controversy. The Washington Star published Oct. 2 a copyrighted partial transcript of the FBI director's testimony, some of which was sharply critical of the State Department and some of the security measures taken to protect the president.

Wednesday he said there is "not a scintilla" of jealousy between the FBI and the Secret Service, which is charged by law with protecting presidents.

Efforts to reach the members of the Warren Commission for their comments were not successful. Some of them are traveling abroad.

Hoover let fly his blast at Dr. King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in discussing civil rights.

#### Appalling, Surprising

King said the FBI director's statement was appalling and surprising.

"I have sincerely questioned the effectiveness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in racial incidents particularly where bombings and brutalities against Negroes are at issue," he said in a telegram to Hoover.

"But I have never attributed this merely to the presence of Southerners in the FBI. This is a part of the broader question of federal involvement in the protection of Negroes in the South and the seeming inability to gain convictions in even the most heinous crimes perpetrated against civil rights workers."

King said FBI agents had to work with local officers in car thefts, bank robberies and similar cases, and this made it difficult for them to function effectively in civil rights cases.

Later, in an interview at Bimini, in the Bahamas, King accused the FBI of "following the path of appeasement of political powers in the South."

He said that "if this continues, the reign of terror in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia will increase rather than subside."

King said his secretary had searched his mail and telephone records in vain for any such request to meet with Hoover.

"I never advised Negroes in Albany not to report to the FBI," King said. "On the contrary, we reported every incident. But we were dismayed by the fact that nothing was ever done."

"I have nothing but sympathy for this man (Hoover) who has served his country so well."

#### Discouragement Voiced

King said, "The fact that no arrests have been made in the brutalities at Albany, the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi, and the bombing of a church in Birmingham, Ala., has left us all

discouraged.

"This has encouraged individuals on the lunatic fringe to feel that they are aided and abetted by federal agents."

"Even Mr. Hoover admits that law officers have been involved in brutal acts against Negroes, but no arrests are made. This increases the terror rather than lessening it."

"It was announced three months ago by President Johnson himself that a solution was pending in the Mississippi murders, but nothing ever happened."

King said he had never made a blanket criticism of the FBI and its agents. He said he believed a Southerner dedicated to his job can be as effective as one from the North.

#### Worked With FBI

"We have worked very closely with the FBI, including its Southern agents," he said. "But Negroes in the South have absolutely lost faith in the FBI."

"Rather than criticize the FBI, I have acted as a mediator, urging Negroes to keep faith with the FBI and to not lose hope."

"But you can't explain to a Negro why a plane can be bombed and its pieces scattered for miles and the crime can be solved, but they can't find out who bombed a church..."

King said he understood that the agents "know the man who committed that bombing and he lives in another state."

King said only "one single arrest" has been made in Albany, and that was when an FBI man was beaten.

In another development, six leaders of Negro organizations told President Johnson today that they disagreed with Hoover's characterization of Dr. King.

#### NAACP Backs King

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the group made clear to the President that "we stand with Dr. King in his conviction that the FBI has not

provided adequate protection to Negroes in the South."

Wilkins added that the question is not whether FBI agents were born in the South or the North, but whether the FBI is providing protection.

He said the President "simply listened and gave no comment" to the group's representations on this point.

Hoover told his interviewers that when he had asked King to make an appointment so he could prove that four of the five men in Albany were born in the North, King would not make the appointment.

The FBI director went off the record for further comments about the minister.

In discussing civil rights with the women reporters, Hoover described as a "scandalous thing to do" the suspension by a McComb, Miss., judge of the sentences of nine men convicted of bombing and burning a church. He said the men were not young, as claimed, but ranged in age from 30 to 44.

"Great progress" is being made, Hoover said, in solving the slaying of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss.

"Around Philadelphia, Miss.," Hoover continued, "law enforcement is practically nil and many times sheriffs and deputies participate in crime."

Hoover also asserted there is police participation in crime in several Midwestern cities. He said this is one reason he opposes a national police force.

"If they (local police) could write to a central clearing house for information you can imagine what harm they would do," Hoover said.

Then he went on to criticize "bleeding heart" judges and to discuss urban crime.

"You can't safely walk the streets of Washington, D.C., even in the daylight," Hoover said, citing as an example the mugging of the publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, Barry Bingham, and Mrs. Bingham in a Connecticut Avenue neighborhood.

An FBI spokesman said later that Hoover misspoke and that he was referring to a street attack by two men on Mark F. Ethridge, board chairman of the Courier-Journal and Louisville Times Co., and Mrs. Ethridge in October, 1957. The men later pleaded guilty to charges of attempted robbery.

Hoover said "bleeding heart judges" shielded juveniles who have committed major crimes and that the FBI would have known that Oswald had a juvenile record if the New York courts had not kept it secret.

He said he included justices of the Supreme Court in the "bleeding hearts" class for ruling that a prisoner must be arraigned within 24 hours after arrest and cannot be held for days on suspicion of crime.

Hoover also bestowed the "bleeding heart" tag on judges who he said are to blame for the "disgrace" of urban crime.

#### Raise Juvenile Age

In her report of the interview, Vera Glaser of the North American Newspaper Alliance, quoted Hoover as also saying:

"I am in violent disagreement with the bleeding hearts of this country who want to raise the age for juvenile delinquents to 21. I believe it should be dropped to 16. Any person who commits a serious crime of violence should be tried as an adult and sentenced as such."

She also said Hoover described himself as a "states' righter. Naturally I get more and more irritated when I see Congress passing along to us matters that should be handled by the states. They want us to be Paul Reveres. When you weaken the state authorities you do a great disservice to law enforcement all over the country."

In Hoover's view, according to NANA, the recent troubles in Mississippi "were due to the rather harsh approach by the authorities here in the Department of Justice. Shortly after President Johnson came in, he

asked me to go to Mississippi. I saw Gov.- Paul Johnson. His reaction was that it was the first message he had received from Washington which was in any degree courteous."

For self-protection, Hoover thinks, reported NANA, the average person would be wise to keep a dog at his side, a practice he himself follows. Where pets are forbidden, he suggests carrying a small gas pen.

As for New York City, Hoover said:

"Central Park--no one dares walk there even in the daytime and there are holdups on Fifth Avenue at 9:30 or 10 at night. There are pedestrians on the street and no one responds."

New York City Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm replied to Hoover's remark by saying there is very little crime in Central Park and "the crimes that do occur . . . usually happen at night after the park is closed to the public." Arm said more than four million people use the park each year.

There were these other observations, too, in the interview, held at Hoover's invitation after the women reporters said they wished to talk with him en masse as they had with other government officials:

"The Secret Service is hopelessly ill-equipped and undermanned to do the job it is expected to do, but I have enough headaches of my own."

#### Work of Klan

"All the lynchings and bombings of homes in the South" were the work of members of the Ku Klux Klan and the FBI knows "pretty well who they are."

"We are looking into the activities of the Minutemen. There is nothing more like the Ku Klux Klan and we have done a job on them."

"I have always taken the position that there is no such thing as a lie detector. It has to be operated by a human being. Whenever a human being

"Sales of weapons should be restricted. There are licenses for automobiles and dogs, why not guns?"

Hoover emphasized again and again that it is not his agency's business to guard anyone.

He said this includes the President of the United States and those "who go down to reform the South."

On other matters Hoover:

Said the FBI has never investigated the John Birch Society and said "I have no respect for the head of the society, Robert Welch."

Said the FBI is watching the activities of the Black Muslims.

Described George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi party, as "bigoted and biased" and said "I wouldn't pay much attention to anything he said."

Director of the FBI since 1924, Hoover has been told by President Johnson his tenure will be extended "for as long as I am in the White House." The FBI chief is 63.

Tolson

Belmont

Mohr

DeLoach

Casper

Callahan

Conrad

Felt

Gale

Rosen

Sullivan

Tavel

Trotter

Tele. Room

Holmes

Gandy

UPI-87

(WHITE HOUSE - HOOVER)

WASHINGTON--A GROUP OF TOP NEGRO LEADERS TOLD PRESIDENT JOHNSON TODAY THEY SIDED WITH THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., "IN HIS CONVICTION THAT THE FBI HAS NOT PROVIDED THE PROTECTION NEGROES SHOULD RECEIVE FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT." THEY DEPLORED FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER'S CRITICISM OF KING.

THE NEGROES, SPOKESMEN FOR THE COUNTRY'S MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, MET WITH THE PRESIDENT TO DISCUSS CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENT ELECTIONS. AFTER TALKING WITH JOHNSON THEY TOLD NEWSMEN THEY HAD TAKEN ISSUE WITH HOOVER'S CHARGE IN AN INTERVIEW YESTERDAY THAT KING WAS A "NOTORIOUS LIAR" WHEN HE SAID FBI AGENTS IN ALBANY, GA., DO NOT ACT ON CIVIL RIGHTS COMPLAINTS BECAUSE THEY ARE SOUTHERNERS.

ROY WILKINS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), SAID AFTER THE MEETING WITH JOHNSON: "WE EXPRESSED OUR DISAGREEMENT WITH MR. HOOVER'S CHARACTERIZATION OF DR. KING."

"WE SAID WE STOOD WITH DR. KING IN HIS CONVICTION THAT THE FBI HAS NOT PROVIDED THE PROTECTION NEGROES SHOULD RECEIVE FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT," WILKINS ADDED.

KING, WHO IS VACATIONING IN THE BAHAMAS, WAS INVITED TO THE MEETING BUT DID NOT ATTEND. TOP OFFICIALS OF MOST MAJOR NEGRO ORGANIZATION WERE PRESENT.

ASKED FOR JOHNSON'S REACTION, WILKINS SAID:

"THE PRESIDENT SIMPLY LISTENED TO US. HE DID NOT GIVE ANY ANSWER OR COMMENT."

THE NAACP OFFICIAL SAID THE ISSUE WAS NOT WHETHER FBI AGENTS WERE BORN IN THE SOUTH OR IN THE NORTH. THE QUESTION, HE SAID, IS WHETHER NEGROES IN THE SOUTH ARE GETTING ADEQUATE PROTECTION FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

WILKINS WAS SPOKESMAN FOR THE GROUP ON THE HOOVER-KING EPISODE. OTHERS, INCLUDING URBAN LEAGUE DIRECTOR WHITNEY YOUNG, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR JAMES FARMER OF CONGRESS ON RACIAL EQUALITY AND MRS. DOROTHY HEIGHT, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, WERE ALSO IN THE MEETING.

Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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*[Redacted]*  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

UPI-48

(KING)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. TOLD FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER TODAY THAT HE WAS "APPALLED AND SURPRISED" AT HOOVER'S ATTACK ON THE NEGRO INTEGRATION LEADER.

KING SENT A TELEGRAM TO HOOVER FROM BIMINI IN THE BAHAMAS WHERE HE PREPARING HIS ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS FOR THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE. KING'S ATLANTA OFFICE MADE THE TEXT PUBLIC.

KING REACTED STRONGLY TO HOOVER'S STATEMENT IN WASHINGTON THAT THE INTEGRATION LEADER WAS "THE MOST NOTORIOUS LIAR IN THE COUNTRY" FOR ALLEGING THE FBI HAD NOT DONE ITS PROPER JOB IN ALBANY, GA., RACIAL INCIDENTS.

KING ACCUSED HOOVER OF "MALIGNING MY INTEGRITY" AND ADDED: "WHAT MOTIVATED SUCH AN IRRESPONSIBLE ACCUSATION IS A MYSTERY TO ME."

KING ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAS "SINCERELY QUESTIONED" EFFECTIVENESS OF THE FBI IN RACIAL INCIDENTS, "PARTICULARLY WHERE BOMBINGS AND BRUTALITY AGAINST NEGROES ARE AT ISSUE."

KING SAID, HOWEVER, THAT I HAVE NEVER ATTRIBUTED THIS MERELY TO THE PRESENCE OF SOUTHERNERS IN THE FBI.

"THIS IS PART OF THE BROADER QUESTION OF FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROTECTION OF NEGROES IN THE SOUTH AND THE SEEMING INABILITY TO GAIN CONVICTIONS IN EVEN THE MOST HEINOUS CRIMES PERPETRATED AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS."

IN A SEPARATE STATEMENT RELEASED WITH THE TELEGRAM KING SAID: "I CANNOT CONCEIVE OF MR. HOOVER MAKING A STATEMENT LIKE THIS WITHOUT BEING UNDER EXTREME PRESSURE. HE HAS APPARENTLY FALTERED UNDER THE AWESOME BURDENS, COMPLEXITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF HIS OFFICE."

"I CANNOT ENGAGE IN A PUBLIC DEBATE WITH HIM. I HAVE NOTHING BUT SYMPATHY FOR THIS MAN WHO HAS SERVED HIS COUNTRY SO WELL," KING SAID.

KING REMINDED HOOVER THAT NO ARRESTS HAD BEEN MADE IN ALBANY "BRUTALITY" AGAINST NEGROES, IN CONNECTION WITH "THE TRAGIC MURDER" OF FOUR NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE 16TH ST. BAPTIST CHURCH BOMBING AT BIRMINGHAM OR IN THE CASE OF THREE SLAIN CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS IN MISSISSIPPI.

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KING SUGGESTED THAT, SINCE THE FBI WORKS WITH LOCAL OFFICERS ON CAR THEFTS, BANK ROBBERIES AND OTHER INTERSTATE CRIMES, "IT IS DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY IN CASES WHERE THE RIGHTS AND SAFETY OF NEGRO CITIZENS ARE BEING THREATENED BY THESE SAME LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS."

HOOVER SAID HE HAD TRIED TO CONTACT KING WITHOUT SUCCESS TO "CLEAR UP" MATTERS WITH THE NEGRO LEADER. KING TOLD THE FBI CHIEF THAT "I HAVE SOUGHT IN VAIN" FOR ANY RECORD OF THE REQUEST.

"I WILL BE HAPPY TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION WITH YOU AT LENGTH IN THE NEAR FUTURE," KING SAID. "I HAVE ALWAYS MADE MYSELF AVAILABLE TO ALL FBI AGENTS OF THE ATLANTA OFFICE AND ENCOURAGED OUR STAFF AND AFFILIATES TO COOPERATE WITH THEM IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT MANY OF OUR PEOPLE HAVE SUSPICIONS AND DISTRUST OF THE FBI AS A RESULT OF THE SLOW PACE OF JUSTICE IN THE SOUTH."

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 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## He Gets Rough on 'Bleeding Hearts'

# Hoover in Blast at Police Corruption Opens Fire on Some Other Targets

By Elizabeth Shelton  
 Staff Reporter

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover did some plain talking yesterday about a number of subjects on his mind including civil rights, protection of the President, police corruption and juvenile delinquency. In an unusual 3-hour briefing to Washington women reporters at his office, he made these observations:

- The suspension by a McComb, Miss., judge of the sentences of nine men convicted of bombing and burning a church "was a scandalous thing to do." He said the men were not young, as claimed, but ranged in age from 30 to 44.

(Court records show that

most of those arrested were in their 20s).

- "Around Philadelphia, Miss., law enforcement is practically nil and many times sheriffs and deputies participate in crime."

- "Great progress" is being made in solving the murder of three civil rights workers who were buried at a dam site near Philadelphia, Miss.

- The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was "the most notorious liar in the country" for claiming that FBI agents in Albany, Ga., would take no action on civil rights complaints because they were Southerners.

- There is police participation in crime also in several Midwestern cities. This is one

reason why he opposes a national police force. "If they (local police) could write to a central clearing house for information you can imagine what harm this would do."

- He is "in violent disagreement with the bleeding hearts who want to raise the age of juvenile delinquency to 21. I believe it should be down to 16."

In this connection Hoover said it is the responsibility of the home to set an example for young people and parents should be charged damages for the trouble their misguided offspring cause.

He also opposes "bleeding heart judges" who shield juveniles who have committed

See FBI, A3, Col. 1

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The Washington Post and Times Herald XX  
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# Hoover Hurls Blasts in Press Briefing

added that the FBI would have known that Lee Harvey Oswald, assassin of President Kennedy, had a juvenile record if the New York courts had not kept it secret.

He also put Justices of the Supreme Court in the "bleeding hearts" class for ruling that a prisoner must be arraigned within 24 hours and cannot be held for days on suspicion of crime.

Also into the "bleeding heart" bag went other judges, whom he blamed for the "disgrace" of urban crime, adding "You can't safely walk the streets of Washington, D.C., even in the daylight."

## Cites Some Examples

As examples he cited the mugging of the publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, Barry Bingham, and Mrs. Bingham in a Connecticut ave. neighborhood. He added:

Central Park — No one dares walk there even in the daytime and there are holdups on Fifth ave. at 9:30 or 10 at night. There are pedestrians on the street and no one responds." He mentioned the

use in New York of the kidnapping of a woman who repeatedly called for help "and no one called the Police Department."

## Puts Blame on Adults

"It is not unusual to see a mass increase in crime when parents in the home show no respect for the law," Hoover said. "We really have what you might erroneously call juvenile delinquency when I think it is adult delinquency. The home plays a most important part."

Support by civic groups of law enforcement bodies also would help, he said, adding that in New York City there are charges of police brutality whenever police go into a neighborhood to safeguard the peace.

Hoover classed President Johnson as "an old friend." Mr. Johnson has extended Hoover's tenure as Director for as long as Mr. Johnson is in the White House, Hoover said.

Hoover called Dr. King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a liar for advising Negroes not

to report any civil rights violations to the Albany, Ga., FBI office because the staff members were all Southerners.

When he asked Dr. King to make an appointment so he could prove that four of the five men were born in the North, Hoover said, Dr. King would not make the appointment.

An aide to Dr. King said the civil rights leader was in the Bahamas on vacation and would have no statement until today at the earliest.

Then Hoover went off the record for further comments about the minister.

Over and over the FBI Director emphasized that it is not his agency's business to guard anyone. This, he said, includes protecting the President and "wet-nursing" those "who go down to reform the South."

Hoover said there is "not a scintilla" of jealousy between his organization and the Secret Service. "The Secret Service is hopelessly ill-equipped and undermanned to do the job it is expected to do, but I have enough headaches of my own."

The Warren Commission report on the assassination of President Kennedy was "unfair and unjust" in its criticism of the FBI for restricting its activities in behalf of internal security, Hoover said. He called it a "classic piece of Monday morning quarterbacking."

## Names Being Collected

Now, he said, his office is turning over to the Secret Service the names of "thousands of beatniks, crackpots and kooks."

He said in New York City alone 7000 persons would have to be taken out of circulation every time the President made a public appearance if it were deemed necessary to remove "every individual who might threaten the safety of the President."

A Cabinet commission is now working on criteria for the removal of such persons, he said.

The briefing was the first formal press conference the Director has held for women

The Washington  
and Times Herald  
11-19-64  
Page A-3

only, although he has briefed women ~~and men~~ reporters working together.

It spanned the years from his appointment in 1923 and opened with an expression of his delight that the proposed new FBI building on Pennsylvania ave., between D and E sts., will bring his headquarters staff and operations under one roof, with a subway connecting to the present Justice Department building. The Fine Arts Commission and architects are now conferring on the design.

Some other Hoover observations:

- Lie detectors — "I have always taken the position that there is no such thing as a lie detector. It has to be operated by a human being. Whenever a human reaches conclusions he is apt to make an error."

- The slaying of Washington educator Lemuel A. Penn — "In spite of the confessions obtained by the FBI the jury acquitted all defendants and shook the hands of all defendants. That's a situation that cannot be overcome overnight. In time it will be eliminated."

- Gun carrying — "Sales of weapons should be restricted. There are licenses for automobiles and dogs, why not guns?"

- John Birch Society — "We have never investigated the Society. Our investigations are limited to subversive activities. I have no respect for the head of the Society," Robert Welch."

- Minutemen — "We are looking into the activities of the Minutemen. There is nothing more like the Ku Klux Klan and we have done a job on them."

- Ku Klux Klan — "There are 480 KKKs in Mississippi and we have talked to all of them."

Hoover said the FBI was watching the activities of the Black Muslims and said of George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the so-called American Nazi Party, "He is bigoted and biased and I wouldn't pay much attention to anything he said."

- Espionage — "I wonder if the talk about peaceful co-existence (with the Russians) can be sincere when their agents are trying to get information out of our laboratories."

- Press — "Criticism of the press in connection with the Ruby killing of Oswald before a television audience was extreme and unwarranted." He said Oswald should have been removed from the jail at night and the press should not have been allowed in the basement, where Oswald was shot.

- Snakes — "They're the only thing in the world I'm afraid of."

# Hoover Criticism

## Draws King Retort

By the Associated Press

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover drew a quick reaction today with his criticism of the Warren Commission and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Hoover, in an interview yesterday with a group of women reporters, charged the commission with "a classic case of Monday morning quarterbacking" in criticizing the FBI for not notifying the Secret Service that Lee Harvey Oswald, President John F. Kennedy's assassin, was in Dallas.

And he called King, a Negro civil rights leader, "the most notorious liar in the country" because, Hoover said, King asserted that FBI agents in Albany, Ga., failed to act on Negro complaints because the agents were Southerners.

In a telegram to Hoover today, King denied he had attributed any FBI ineffectiveness on civil rights matters to its agents' heritage. He added in a statement:

"I cannot conceive of Mr. Hoover making a statement like



MARTIN LUTHER KING  
Called a Liar



J. EDGAR HOOVER  
Hits Courts, Too

this without being under extreme pressure. He has apparently faltered under the awesome burdens, complexities and responsibilities of his office. Therefore, I cannot engage in public debate with him. I have

nothing but sympathy for this man who has served his country so well."

The FBI had no comment on King's statement. Allen W. Dulles, a member of the Warren Commission

which investigated Kennedy's assassination, told a reporter he had no specific comment on Hoover's complaints about the report.

But Dulles, a former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, lauded Hoover's "great service" to the nation and said "it would be a pity" if the commission report were taken as criticism of the long service Hoover and the FBI have rendered to the country.

There was certainly no intention "to denigrate in any way the great service Mr. Hoover has rendered to this country."

He also said Hoover had been of "great service" to the commission in its investigation.

Hoover boiled over on many matters, including Supreme Court justices, lenient "bleeding heart judges," police corruption and juvenile delinquency in the lengthy interview.

The finding by the commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, See **HOOPER**, Page A-6

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Page **A-1**

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HOOVER

# FBI Director Denies Inter-Agency Friction

(Continued from Page A-1)

Warren, that the FBI failed to notify the Secret Service that Oswald was in Dallas the day Kennedy was slain drew much of Hoover's ire.

In New York City alone, Hoover complained, 7,000 persons would have to be taken out of circulation every time a president makes a public appearance if it were deemed necessary to remove "every individual who might threaten the safety of the president."

However, the FBI director said, his office is turning over to the Secret Service the names of "thousands of beatniks, crackpots and kooks."

Hoover appeared before the commission last May 14 and told newsmen after testifying the panel was doing "a very thorough job." He said it had "even gone beyond what a reasonable man would have expected" in accumulating evidence.

## No Jealousy

Shortly after the commission issued its report Sept. 27, Hoover was entwined in controversy. The Washington Star published Oct. 2 a copyrighted partial transcript of the FBI director's testimony, some of which was sharply critical of the State Department and some of the security measures taken to protect the president.

Wednesday he said there is "not a scintilla" of jealousy between the FBI and the Secret Service, which is charged by law with protecting presidents.

Efforts to reach the members of the Warren Commission for their comments were not successful. Some of them are traveling abroad.

Hoover let fly his blast at Dr. Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in discussing civil rights.

## Appalling, Surprising

Hoover said the FBI director's remarks were appalling and surprising.

He severely questioned the wisdom of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in racial matters, particularly where Negroes are concerned.

"But I have never attributed this merely to the presence of Southerners in the FBI. This is a part of the broader question of federal involvement in the protection of Negroes in the South and the seeming inability to gain convictions in even the most heinous crimes perpetrated against civil rights workers."

King said FBI agents had to work with local officers in car thefts, bank robberies and similar cases, and this made it difficult for them to function effectively in civil rights cases.

Later, in an interview at Bimini, in the Bahamas, King accused the FBI of "following the path of appeasement of political powers in the South."

He said that "if this continues, the reign of terror in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia will increase rather than subside."

King said his secretary had searched his mail and telephone records in vain for any such request to meet with Hoover.

"I never advised Negroes in Albany not to report to the FBI," King said. "On the contrary, we reported every incident. But we were dismayed by the fact that nothing was ever done."

"I have nothing but sympathy for this man (Hoover) who has served his country so well."

## Discouragement Voiced

King said, "The fact that no arrests have been made in the brutalities at Albany, the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi, and the bombing of a church in Birmingham, Ala., has left us all discouraged."

"This has encouraged individuals on the lunatic fringe to feel that they are aided and abetted by federal agents."

"Even Mr. Hoover admits that law officers have been involved in brutal acts against Negroes, but no arrests are made. This increases the terror rather than lessening it."

"It was announced three months ago by President Johnson himself that a solution was being sought in the case of the

King said he had never made a blanket criticism of the FBI and its agents. He said he believed a Southerner dedicated to his job can be as effective as one from the North.

## Worked With FBI

"We have worked very closely with the FBI, including its Southern agents," he said. "But Negroes in the South have absolutely lost faith in the FBI."

"Rather than criticize the FBI, I have acted as a mediator, urging Negroes to keep faith with the FBI and to not lose hope."

"But you can't explain to a Negro why a plane can be bombed and its pieces scattered for miles and the crime can be solved, but they can't find out who bombed a church..."

King said he understood that the agents "know the man who

committed that bombing and he lives in another state."

King said only "one single arrest" has been made in Albany, and that was when an FBI man was beaten.

In another development, six leaders of Negro organizations told President Johnson today that they disagreed with Hoover's characterization of Dr. King.

## NAACP Backs King

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the group made clear to the President that "we stand with Dr. King in his conviction that the FBI has not provided adequate protection to Negroes in the South."

Wilkins added that the question is not whether FBI agents were born in the South or the North, but whether the FBI is providing protection.

He said the President "simply listened and gave no comment" to the group's representations on this point.

The Evening Star

Hoover told his interviewers that when he had asked King to make an appointment so he could prove that four of the five men in Albany were born in the North, King would not make the appointment.

The FBI director went off the record for further comments about the minister.

In discussing civil rights with the women reporters, Hoover described as a "scandalous thing to do" the suspension by a McComb, Miss., judge of the sentences of nine men convicted of bombing and burning a church. He said the men were not young, as claimed, but ranged in age from 30 to 44.

"Great progress" is being made, Hoover said, in solving the slaying of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss.

"Around Philadelphia, Miss.," Hoover continued, "law enforcement is practically nil and many times sheriffs and deputies participate in crime."

Hoover also asserted there is police participation in crime in several Midwestern cities. He said this is one reason he opposes a national police force.

"If they (local police) could write to a central clearing house for information you can imagine what harm they would do," Hoover said.

Then he went on to criticize "bleeding heart" judges and to discuss urban crime.

"You can't safely walk the streets of Washington, D.C., even in the daylight," Hoover said, citing as an example the slaying of the publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, Barry Bingham, and Mrs. Bingham in a Connecticut Avenue neighborhood.

An FBI spokesman said later that Hoover misspoke and that he was referring to a street attack by two men on Mark F. Haridge, board chairman of the Courier-Journal and Louisville Times Co., and Mrs. Ethridge in 1957. The men later were found guilty to charges of attempted robbery.

Hoover said, "bleeding heart" judges shielded juveniles who committed major crimes and that the FBI would have liked Oswald had a juvenile record if the New York Times had kept it secret.

He included justices of the Supreme Court in the "bleeding heart" class for ruling that juveniles must be arraigned 24 hours after arrest and must be held for 48 hours before trial.

Hoover also bestowed the "bleeding heart" tag on judges who he said are to blame for the "disgrace" of urban crime.

#### Raise Juvenile Age

In her report of the interview, Vera Glaser of the North American Newspaper Alliance, quoted Hoover as also saying:

"I am in violent disagreement with the bleeding hearts of this country who want to raise the age for juvenile delinquents to 21. I believe it should be dropped to 16. Any person who commits a serious crime of violence should be tried as an adult and sentenced as such."

She also said Hoover described himself as a "states' righter. Naturally I get more and more irritated when I see Congress passing along to us matters that should be handled by the states. They want us to be Paul Reveres. When you weaken the state authorities you do a great disservice to law enforcement all over the country."

In Hoover's view, according to NANA, the recent troubles in Mississippi "were due to the rather harsh approach by the authorities here in the Department of Justice. Shortly after President Johnson came in, he asked me to go to Mississippi. I saw Gov. Paul Johnson. His reaction was that it was the first message he had received from Washington which was in any degree courteous."

For self-protection, Hoover thinks, reported NANA, the average person would be wise to keep a dog at his side, a practice he himself follows. Where pets are forbidden, he suggests carrying a small gas pen.

As for New York City, Hoover said:

"Central Park—no one dares walk there even in the daytime and there are holdups on Fifth Avenue at 9:30 or 10 at night.

are pedestrians on the street and no one responds."

New York City Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm replied to Hoover's remark by saying there is very little crime in Central Park and "the crimes that do occur . . . usually happen at night after the park is closed to the public." Arm said more than four million people use the park each year.

There were these other observations, too, in the interview, held at Hoover's invitation after the women reporters said they wished to talk with him en masse as they had with other government officials:

"The Secret Service is hopelessly ill-equipped and undermanned to do the job it is expected to do, but I have enough headaches of my own."

"All the lynchings and bombings of homes in the South" were the work of members of the Ku Klux Klan and the FBI knows "pretty well who they are."

"We are looking into the activities of the Minutemen. There is nothing more like the Ku Klux Klan and we have done a job on them."

"I have always taken the position that there is no such thing as a lie detector. It has to be operated by a human being. Whenever a human being reaches conclusions he is apt to make an error."

"Sales of weapons should be restricted. There are licenses for automobiles and dogs, why not guns?"

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He said this includes the President of the United States and those "who go down to reform the South."

On other matters Hoover:

Said the FBI has never investigated the John Birch Society and said "I have no respect for the head of the society, Robert Welch."

Said the FBI is watching the activities of the Black Muslims.

Described George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi party, as "bigoted and biased" and said "I wouldn't pay much attention to anything he said."

Director of the FBI since 1924, Hoover has been told by President Johnson his tenure will be extended "for as long as I am in the White House." The FBI chief is 69.

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# Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom Being Held Thursday by Students Throughout Nation

By GENE WILLIAMS

COLLEGE students throughout the country will participate in a one-meal fast this week to raise funds for Negro families in the South. Students will refrain from the dinner meal on Thursday, Nov. 19, and donate the money normally spent on food to the collection effort.

At schools where cafeteria meals are prepaid, students are obtaining sign-up lists of "fast" volunteers. The lists are being given to the food contract services, specifying the number to cut down on the food prepared for that meal.

The Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom, as it is called, is sponsored by the United States National Student Association, the United States Youth Council, and the Northern Student Movement.

The money collected will be used for the purchase of surplus food, which will be distributed through the voluntary efforts of the Teamsters Union.

Several Student Governments have voted to donate part or all of the collections to the Conference of Federated Organizations (COFO).

About 17,000 students at 42 schools took part in a similar fast last spring. The program succeeded in raising \$10,250 buying 80,000 pounds of food. The food was distributed to 600 families in six Mississippi Cities, according to NSA Civil Rights Coordinator Steve McNicholas.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., James Farmer, Roy Wilkins and A. Philip Randolph have pledged their participation in the fast.

## ROTC

Congress has intensified the militarization of high school youth with the recent passage of a bill expanding the high school program of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC).

The bill would expand Junior ROTC from the present 254 schools to 1,200 by 1971.

Now awaiting the President's signature, the bill was passed

despite protests by Defense Secretary McNamara that the expansion would have no military value.

While the new measure would eventually increase the present \$5 million high school ROTC appropriation to \$21 million, McNamara has asked for the complete elimination of the high school program.

With regard to college students, there appears to be growing opposition to compulsory ROTC at Hofstra University.

A recent editorial in the Hofstra Chronicle assails mandatory ROTC as "an unnecessary invasion of individual liberty" and "freedom of choice" which "should be ended."

The editorial further notes that compulsory ROTC has been eliminated at Bucknell, Colorado State, Iowa State, Lehigh, Michigan State, NYU, Ohio State, Oregon State, Penn. State, Univ. of Calif., Univ. of Illinois, and the Univ. of Mass.

## COLUMBIA BLOCKS UNION

Columbia University is resisting a drive to unionize its dining hall workers led by the campus CORE chapter.

In a faculty memorandum of last week, University President Dr. Grayson Kirk announced a token ten cents an hour increase for the school's food service employees.

He admitted that the union drive had resulted in the review of the wage scale, but affirmed the school's opposition to unionization.

The situation at Columbia is similar to that in many other schools, where no organization of students or non-student workers exists.

## 1,000 SIGN PETITION

More than a thousand University of Minneapolis students have signed a petition calling for federal intervention in Mississippi.

The petition, which is being circulated by the campus Students for Integration club, terms the situation in Mississippi "a continuation of a brutal pat-

tern" and calls upon the federal "government to become actively involved in Mississippi to protect lives, voting rights, and private property."

Philadelphia students are lobbying to exclude college text books from the state sales tax.

"The state is encouraging people to go to college and at the same time taxing them," said Temple Univ. Student Councilman Al Beckman. "Books are not luxuries," he explained.

Students are planning to "swamp" state legislators with post cards after their return from Harrisburg. "A barrage of post cards from interested students, who will soon be voters, should convince the State government we are serious about changing the present tax law," Beckman said.

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Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Worker 13 Hudson \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 11/17/64

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

## Pass The Cash, Please

There will be no Thanksgiving turkey for many Negroes this year, according to a plan by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, wealthy professional Negro agitator.

Resuming his civil rights activities after a self imposed moratorium so his street demonstrations and other antics wouldn't interfere with the election, Dr. King announces plans for a massive Thanksgiving Day fast in 120 colleges and universities throughout the country.

College students will abstain volun-

tarily from one dinner meal, says the Negro agitator.

An estimated 50,000 students, he hopes, will contribute the money saved by the fast. What will happen to the money? You guessed it. Said funds are to be turned over to King. King says he will use the moola to help feed hungry and impoverished Negro families. Where are these alleged hungry Negroes? In Mississippi, of course.

There you have the latest on plate passing projects by Dr. King. Except there won't be turkey on the plate. Only cash, please.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 5

Jackson Daily News

Jackson, Miss.

Date: 11/12/64  
Edition: Daily  
Author: Editorial  
Editor: James M. Ward  
Title: Racial Matters

Character:

or

Classification: 157-72  
Submitting Office: Jackson

☐ Being Investigated

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Dr. King Asks Fast For Needy Negroes In the Deep South

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. announced yesterday a one-meal fast by college and university students to raise funds for food for needy Negro families in the Deep South.

The fast, called a Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom, will take place on Nov. 19, one week before Thanksgiving Day, at about 120 colleges and universities.

Dr. King said that the money saved by the students on the meal would be used for the food.

A similar fast took place on 42 campuses last spring. About \$10,000 was raised then to buy 80,000 pounds of food, which was distributed to 600 families in six Mississippi cities, according to Steven McNicholas, civil rights director of the United States National Student Association. The association will help sponsor the fast.

Two other groups, the United States Youth Council and the Northern Student Movement, are also sponsoring the project.

Contributions for the fast can be sent to Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom, Philadelphia, he said.

He said others who had agreed to take part in the fast included Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, president of the University of Oregon, who was Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under President Dwight D. Eisenhower; Dr. Ralph Bunche, United Nations Under Secretary for Political Affairs; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

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Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

New York Times

Pg 56

Date: 11-7-64  
Edition: Late City  
Author: None  
Editor: Clifton Daniel  
Title: Dr. King Asks  
Fast For Needy Negroes  
In The Deep South  
Character: SM-C  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: New York

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# NEGROES ARE NOT MOVING TOO FAST

Denouncing claims that the black American expects special favors, a renowned civil-rights leader proposes a "grand alliance" between the races.

By Dr. Martin Luther King

America is fortunate that the strength and militancy of Negro protest have been tempered by a sense of responsibility. This advantage can be dissipated if some current myths are not eliminated. The first such myth is that the Negro is going ahead too far, too fast. Another popular, erroneous idea is that the Negro will happily take whatever he can get, no matter how little. There also are dangerous myths about the "white backlash," which was so much talked about in the campaign just finished. And then there are myths about how the Negro riots occurred last summer. The white leadership—the power structure—must face up to the fact that its sins of omission and commission have challenged our policy of nonviolence.

Among many white Americans who have recently achieved middle-class status or regard themselves close to it, there is a prevailing belief that Negroes are moving too fast and that their speed imperils the security of whites. Those who feel this way refer to their own experience and conclude that while they waited long for their chance, the Negro is expecting special advantages from the government.

It is true that many white Americans struggled to attain security. It is also a hard fact that none had the experience of Negroes. No one else endured chattel slavery on American soil. No one else suffered discrimination so intensely or so long as the Negroes. In one or two generations the conditions of life for white Americans altered radically. For Negroes, after three centuries, wretchedness and misery still afflict the majority.



Winner of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, the author serves, without salary, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and is co-pastor, with his father, of Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Anatole France once said, "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids all men to sleep under bridges—the rich as well as the poor." There could scarcely be a better statement of the dilemma of the Negro today. After a decade of bitter struggle, multiple laws have been enacted proclaiming his equality. He should feel exhilaration as his goal comes into sight. But the ordinary black man knows that Anatole France's sardonic jest expresses

a very bitter truth. Despite new laws, little has changed in his life in the ghettos. The Negro is still the poorest American—walled in by color and poverty. The law pronounces him equal, abstractly, but his conditions of life are still far from equal to those of other Americans.

More important than all of these facts is that the gap between Negroes and whites is not narrowing as so many believe. It is growing wider. The technological revolution expressed in automation and cybernetics is edging the Negro and certain poor whites into a socially superfluous role, into permanent uselessness and hopeless impoverishment.

In 1964, the nation's production has hit historic heights. Yet U.S. Government statistics reveal that the unemployment rate of Negro youth averages 33 percent. In some of the northern ghettos the rate of unemployment of youth is 50 percent. These figures of unemployment dwarf even those of the depression of the 1930's, and they shed some light on why there was such a high proportion of young people in last summer's riots. Despair made them active participants.

Charges that Negroes are going "too fast" are both cruel and dangerous. The Negro is not going nearly fast enough, and claims to the contrary only play into the hands of those who believe that violence is the only means by which the Negro will get anywhere.

Page 8.

"The Saturday Evening Post"

November 7, 1964 issue

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Another more enduring myth is that the Negro has waited so long that any improvement will satisfy him. A beginning sincerely made is one thing, but token beginning that is an end in itself is quite another thing, and Negroes will not be deluded into accepting one for the other. The tragedy of the present is that many newly prosperous Americans contemplate that the unemployable Negro shall live out his life in rural and urban slums, siently and apathetically. This thinking is wrong. Walter Lippmann has summed up the facts behind the folly in these words: "The Negro minority is too large to be subdued. . . . Negro grievances are too real, their cause too just, to allow the great white majority to acquiesce in the kind of terrorism and brutality that would be needed to silence them."

Federal, state and municipal governments toy with meager and inadequate solutions while the alarm and militancy of the Negro rises. A section of the white population, perceiving Negro pressure for change, misconstrues it as a demand for privileges rather than as a desperate quest for existence. The ensuing white backlash intimidates government officials who are already too timorous, and, when the crisis demands vigorous measures, a paralysis ensues.

And this exposes the folly of so much that has been said about the white backlash itself.

The most popular explanation for the backlash is that it is a response to Negro "aggressiveness" and "excessive demands." It is further attributed to an overzealous government which is charged with so favoring Negro demands that it has stimulated them beyond reason.

These are largely half-truths and, as such, whole lies. A multitude of polls conducted during the past two years reveals that even during the buildup of the white backlash, a majority of Americans approved the reforms Negroes have sought. The high point of white support occurred at the time of the historic march on Washington in 1963. Significantly, there was no white backlash then. Instead, there was respect and sympathy which resulted in substantial white participation in the Washington march. It is therefore demonstrable that militancy is not the basis for white resentment on a mass scale. Something happened after the summer of 1963 which must explain the backlash. It is here that Negro acts of commission and omission contributed to the ugly result in various communities.

Whites must bear the heaviest guilt for the present situation, but it would be both unwise and unjust to gloss over

gro culpability. In the first place, it must be admitted that the principal Negro leadership in effect abruptly abdicated, though not intentionally. For many years Negro actions had a sporadic quality, and as a result, the leadership neither planned ahead nor maintained itself at the helm at all times. All leaders, including myself, continued to work vigorously, but we failed to assert the leadership the movement needed. Into this vacuum there flowed less-experienced and frequently irresponsible elements. For month after month the initiative was held by these people, and the response of the main leadership was either a negative reaction or disdain.

The irresponsibles were free to initiate a new, distorted form of action. The principal distortion was the substitution of small, unrepresentative forces for the huge, mass, total-community movements we had always organized. Our reliance on mass demonstrations, intended to isolate and expose the evil-doer by the mass presence of his victims, was a key element in our tactics. It showed to the white majority that Negroes in large numbers were committed and united. We also designed in each case a concrete program which was expressed in clear terms so that it might stand examination.

In contrast, the sporadic, fragmentary forays of the new groups had no perceptible objectives except to disrupt the lives of both Negroes and whites, including whites who were our friends and allies. When a mere handful of well-intentioned but tragically misguided young people blocked the doorways to New York City's Board of Education, or threatened to stop traffic to the World's Fair, or charged into the streets to spread garbage, and to halt traffic on bridges, they were reducing the imposing grandeur of the movement to cheap chaos. The mass movement of millions was overnight exposed to ridicule and debasement.

On reflection, it was insufficient, at the time, for the principal leadership merely

### Speaking Out

to withhold support of such conduct and perversion of our aims and methods. We were under a duty to attack it boldly and vigorously. Action is not in itself a virtue; its goals and its forms determine its value.

In a period of turbulence, mistakes, which under other circumstances might have been contained, are frequently made worse by unexpected developments. This occurred when some elements who had never been a part of the civil-rights movement erupted in violence in the subways and on the streets in New York and other cities. The headlines of a sensation-seeking press enlarged essentially small events to the level of catastrophes.

The exaggerations obscured the fact that crime lives in the heart of all large cities. The irritating deeds of certain irresponsible civil-rights forces, and the senseless violence in which the perpetrators were Negro, merged in the minds of many people. For a large section of the population, Negroes became a menace. The physical safety of people who must use the streets and subways is closer to them than the abstract questions of justice for a minority, however appalling its grievances. Civil-rights leaders cannot control crime. They can control the demonstrations they initiate, however. They have a responsibility to maintain discipline and guidance so that no one is able to confuse constructive protest with criminal acts, which all condemn.

The ghetto has hidden many things from whites, and not the least of these is the rampant racketeering that has a sanctuary in the slums and corrupts the ghetto's already miserable life. The mayors of troubled cities who look only into Negro excesses for the causes of unrest would do well to look critically into their own law-enforcement agencies.

In 1963, at the time of the Washington march, the whole nation talked of Negro freedom and the Negro began to believe in its reality. Then shattered dreams and the persistence of grinding poverty drove a small but desperate group of Negroes into the swamp of senseless violence. Riots solved nothing, but they stunned the nation. One of the questions they evoked was doubt about the Negro's attachment to the doctrine of nonviolence.

Ironically, many important civic leaders began to lecture Negroes to adhere to nonviolence. It is important to recall that Negroes created the theory of nonviolence as it applies to American conditions. For years they fought within their own ranks to achieve its acceptance. They had to overcome the accusation that nonviolence counseled love for murderers. Only after dozens of Birminghams, large and small, was it acknowledged that it took more courage to employ nonviolent direct action than impetuous force.

Yet a distorted understanding of nonviolence began to emerge among white leaders. They failed to perceive that nonviolence can exist only in a context of justice. When the white power structure calls upon the Negro to reject violence but does not impose upon itself the task of creating necessary social change, it is in fact asking for submission to injustice. Nothing in the theory of nonviolence counsels this suicidal course.

The simple fact is that there cannot be nonviolence and tranquility without significant reforms of the evils that endangered the peace in the first place. It is the effort of the power structure to benefit from nonviolence without yielding meaningful change that is responsible for

the rise of elements who would discredit it.

Is the dilemma impossible of resolution? The best course for the Negro happens to be the best course for whites as well and for the nation as a whole.

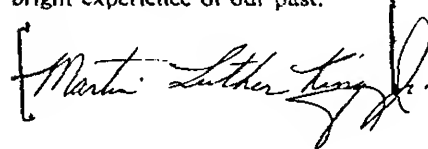
There must be a grand alliance of Negro and white. This alliance must consist of the vast majorities of each group. It must have the objective of eradicating social evils which oppress both white and Negro. The unemployment which afflicts one third of Negro youth also affects over 12½ percent of white youth. It is not only more moral for both races to work together but more logical.

One argument against a grand alliance holds that the shortage of jobs creates a natural climate of competition which tends to divide, not unify. If those who need jobs regard them as bones thrown to hungry animals, a destructive competition would seem inevitable. However, Negroes certainly do not want nor could they find the path to freedom by taking jobs from the white man. Instead, they want the white man to collaborate with them in making new jobs. This is the key point. Our economy, our resources are well able to provide full employment.

It has also been argued that while alliances for economic advancement can be achieved, several "subjective questions" such as housing and schools will be more stubborn. But these questions are based upon a myth, not reality. Just as Negroes would be foolish to seek to overcome 90 percent of the population by organizing their 10 percent in hostile combat, whites would be equally foolish to think that the Negroes' 10 percent is capable of crowding the schools and neighborhoods of 90 percent.

The majority of Negroes want an alliance with white Americans to end social injustice that afflict both. If a few Negro extremists and white extremists manage to divide their people, the tragic result will be the ascendancy of extreme reaction which exploits all people. For some Americans deluded by myths, the candidacy of a Goldwater seemed a solution for their ills. Essentially he identified big government, radicalism and bureaucracy as the cause of all evils. Civil-rights legislation, in his view, is not a social necessity—it is merely oppressive big government. He ignored the towering presence of discrimination and segregation, but vividly exaggerated crime in the streets. The poverty of the Negroes, he implied, is due to want of ambition and industry. The picture that emerged to delight the racist was that of undeserving, shiftless, criminally dangerous radicals who have manipulated government for their selfish ends, but whose grievances are largely fanciful, and will wither away if left to the states.

Our nation has absorbed many minorities from all nations of the world. In the beginning of this century, in a single decade, almost nine million immigrants were drawn into our society. Many reforms were necessary—labor laws and social-welfare measures—to achieve this result. We accomplished these changes in the past because there was a will to do it, and because the nation became greater and stronger in the process. Our country has the need and capacity for further growth, and today there are enough Americans, Negro and white, with faith in the future, with compassion, and will to repeat the bright experience of our past.





Martin Luther King  
Announces a Fast

## Thanksgiving Freedom Fast Called by King

Resuming his civil rights activities after a self imposed, pre-election moratorium, the Rev. Martin Luther King announced plans yesterday for a massive Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom in 120 colleges and universities throughout the country.

"On Nov. 19, college students in dormitories, fraternities, sororities and at campus cafeterias will abstain voluntarily from one dinner meal to help feed hungry and impoverished Negro families in Mississippi and the Deep South," King said.

### Food for Christmas

An estimated 50,000 students will contribute the money saved by the fast to buy food which will be distributed at Christmas time.

King said that there would be a resumption of demonstrations in the North and elsewhere to implement the civil rights bill.

"We will also move ahead to double the registration of Negroes, particularly in Alabama and Mississippi," he said.

### Hails Johnson Victory

The civil rights leader called the election of President Johnson "one of the bright days and finest hours of American history." He claimed that the Negro vote went "98% for Johnson".

The fast is being sponsored by three youth groups—the U.S. National Student Association, Northern Student Movement and the U.S. Youth Council.

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# Dr. King to Renew Southern Protests

By FRED FOWLE

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said yesterday that he was planning to engage in civil rights demonstrations soon in Alabama and Mississippi.

He said that he believed the landslide vote given to President Johnson in the election Tuesday should convince the President that he has "a definite mandate from the American public" to support such demonstrations.

Dr. King, who recently won the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in the civil rights effort, said in a telephone interview from his office in Atlanta:

"Now that the election's over, we will naturally move back into some of the areas where we have been working to be sure that the civil rights bill has been implemented in all of its dimensions. We will prob-

ably have demonstrations in the very near future in Alabama and Mississippi, based around the right to vote. We hope that through this process we can bring the necessary moral pressure to bear on the Federal Government to get Federal registrars appointed in those areas, as well as to get Federal marshals in those places to escort Negroes to the registration places if necessary."

Dr. King said he would lead the demonstrations. Final approval of the plan and details of the projects, he said, would be worked out next week in staff meetings of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which he is president.

## Urged Calm Last July

Dr. King was one of the signers last July of a document urging Negroes to abstain from engaging in demonstrations until after the Presidential election. The statement asked that the "major energy of the civil rights forces" should be used instead in voter-registration efforts.

Signing the document were Roy Wilkins, the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney M. Young Jr., the executive director of the National Urban League; and A. Philip Randolph, the chairman of the Negro American Labor Council.

Dr. King also said yesterday that he was considering a tour of Northern urban areas, possibly next spring, in reply to numerous requests for help from local civil rights activities.

The N.A.A.C.P., meantime, is concentrating in the South on re-establishing itself in Alabama, where it was banned from operation from 1956 until recently. Three experienced field directors are being sent to the state in an effort to build the membership to 10,000 persons, an N.A.A.C.P. official said yesterday.

## CORE Reports Gains

The Congress of Racial Equality has projects in operation in northern Florida and southeastern Louisiana, which, its officials say, are gaining momentum.

One official of CORE's national office here said yesterday that the organization, whose chief activity has been in the field of nonviolent demonstration, had learned in recent months that little progress would be made unless it were made through political action.

"CORE has traditionally been not only nonpartisan, but really apolitical," the official said. "The Goldwater threat has changed that. There is no question that our direction from now on will be toward increasing

our political involvement, both North and South."

In New York City, a Negro minister who has been active in efforts at school integration said there soon would be more action on that front.

The Rev. Milton Galamison, who has engaged in school boycotts, said interested whites and Negroes would meet tonight to formulate a method of attack against policies of the Board of Education.

"These are people who are involved in the school fight and who're just about ready to throw up their hands," he said. "They are desperate and they recognize the fact that all the conferences that have taken place all summer long have availed nothing. There will be action and it will be very soon."

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UPI-75

(KING WRITE-IN)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SAID TODAY HE HAS UNCOVERED A PLOT URGING NEGROES TO MAKE HIM A WRITE-IN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, AND CALLED IT A "CRUEL AND VICIOUS ATTEMPT TO CONFUSE NEGRO VOTERS."

KING SAID HE BELIEVED WORKERS "FROM WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY," WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PLOT. KING HAS ENDORSED PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

THE NEGRO LEADER URGED NEGRO VOTERS NOT TO WRITE IN HIS NAME BECAUSE "THIS WILL WASTE THE ENTIRE BALLOT."

KING SAID HANDBILLS AND RADIO SPOT ANNOUNCEMENTS ARE URGING HIS CANDIDACY. A CHICAGO ADVERTISING AGENCY WAS HANDLING THE SPOT ANNOUNCEMENTS, HE SAID, AND AN ATLANTIC CITY PRINTING FIRM RAN OFF TWO MILLION HANDBILLS.

"I AM WILLING TO RISK A GUESS THAT IT WAS SUPPORTERS OF SEN. GOLDWATER WHO CONTRIVED THIS VENOMOUS ACT," THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE SINNER SAID.

"I WOULD TRUST THAT NO RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD APPROVE SUCH A GUESTURE, BUT THIS CAMPAIGN HAS ATTRACTED AND ENCOURAGED THE WORST RACIST ELEMENTS IN THIS COUNTRY TO FLOOD THE PARTY RANKS."

KING SAID HE FIRST RECEIVED NEWS OF THE PLAN WHEN A WEST COAST RADIO STATION TELEPHONED ABOUT AN ADVERTISING AGENCY BUYING COMMERCIAL TIME TO URGE THE WRITE-IN VOTE.

HE SAID THE WASHINGTON OFFICE OF HIS SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) HAD INFORMED HIM THAT "MILLIONS OF HANDBILLS" WERE BEING CIRCULATED.

KING CALLED A NEWS CONFERENCE TO URGE THE NATION'S 6.5 MILLION REGISTERED NEGRO VOTERS TO VOTE FOR ONE OR THE OTHER OF THE CANDIDATES ON THE BALLOT.

KING SAID THE CHICAGO ADVERTISING AGENCY WAS ATTEMPTING TO PLACE THE SPOT ANNOUNCEMENTS TODAY ON STATIONS WITH LARGE NEGRO AUDIENCES.

THE LEAFLETS DISPLAYED BY KING WERE SIGNED BY "COMMITTEE FOR NEGROES IN GOVERNMENT," LOUISVILLE, KY."

REPRODUCED ON A YELLOW SHEET OF PAPER WITH A HEADING, "WESTERN UNITY," TO SYMBOLIZE THE FORMAT OF A REGULAR TELEGRAM, THE LEAFLETS SAID:

"A WRITE-IN VOTE FOR DR. KING SHOWS THAT NEGROES ARE UNITED...IF YOU ARE NOT SURE HOW TO MAKE THE WRITE-IN FOR 'M. KING' ASK THE PEOPLE AT THE POLLS BEFORE YOU VOTE. THEY MUST SHOW YOU HOW..."

HE SAID THE SCLC IS CONDUCTING A FULL INVESTIGATION AND LAWYERS ARE BEING CONSULTED ABOUT POSSIBLE LEGAL ACTION.

11/2--GE1209P

56 NOV 17 1964

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

File 100-106670



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UPI-83

ADD KING WRITE-IN, ATLANTA (UPI-75)

(IN CHICAGO, NATHAN JACOBS, PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS BRANCH OF BOZELL & JACOBS ADVERTISING AGENCY SAID HIS FIRM HAD PREPARED SPOT RADIO ANNOUNCEMENTS, BUT KILLED THEM BECAUSE OF KING'S OBJECTIONS.

(\*THE ANNOUNCEMENTS WERE TO BE RUN OVER NEGRO STATIONS IN ABOUT 10 CITIES BUT NONE OF THE KING SPOTS HAVE BEEN RUN AND WILL NOT BE, SO I'VE BEEN TOLD," JACOBS SAID.

(HE SAID THE PURPOSE WAS A "DRAFT MARTIN LUTHER KING" MOVEMENT AND THAT "THERE CERTAINLY WAS NO INTENT TO INJURE THE REV. KING." HE SAID THE ANNOUNCEMENTS WERE ORDERED BY AN ORGANIZATION CALLED THE COMMITTEE FOR NEGROES IN GOVERNMENT OF LOUISVILLE, KY.)

11/2--TD1226PES

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Must Go to Polls, Negroes Are Told

Dr. Martin Luther King hit Baltimore yesterday on a six-city get-out-the-Negro-vote campaign, and made it clear how he thought the votes ought to be cast.

In an address at the Masonic Temple in the 1300 block Eutaw Pl., which wound up a fast-moving day, and in earlier appearances, the Negro civil rights leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner made no secret of his conviction that a victory for Barry Goldwater next week would be a disaster for his cause.

"In the final analysis, it is the responsibility of the federal government to preserve the rights of individuals," he told a packed house of 1,300 at the Masonic Temple, augmented by 300 standees.

"AND WE NEED A President who will implement the Civil Rights Bill. Goldwater will not."

Dr. King urged Baltimore Negroes to pool their telephone resources and to form car-pools and baby-sitting pools to get out the vote.

The two million Negro voters registered in the South, with another four and a half million registered in the North, could "provide the landside President Johnson needs to eliminate the Goldwaterism in the air," Dr. King said.

Calling Goldwater "trigger happy," he said he was not speaking as a Johnson advocate, because he wanted to maintain the ability to criticize the administration, but because he foresaw an "impossible situation" in the fields of both international relations and civil rights in the event of a Goldwater election.

DR. KING ALSO urged Baltimore voters to vote "yes" on question No. 5 on the ballot, the statewide public accommodations referendum.

Prior to his Masonic Temple talk, Dr. King toured Negro sections of the city in a motorcade, stopping at Gay and Aisquith Sts. to address a crowd from the rear of a truck, and breakfasted with 150 ministers in Faith Baptist Church at Ashland Ave. and Bond St.

Throughout his 24-hour stay here, which ended last night as he left Friendship International Airport, Dr. King was escorted by eight members of the police VIP squad. They reported that not a single threat or untoward incident marred his visit here.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state)

THE SUN

THE EVENING

THE SUNDAY

THE NEWS  
AMERICAN

BALTIMORE,

Date: 11/1/64

Edition: FINAL

Author:

Editor:

Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: P.M.

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: BAL

☐ Being Investigated

100-106578  
NOV 12 1964

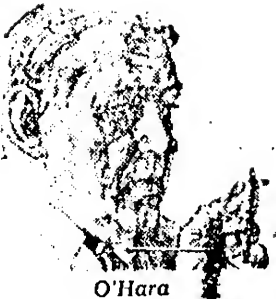
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**"GET OUT AND VOTE," SAYS NOBEL WINNER**

**. . . Dr. Martin Luther King motors**

**—News American Staff Photo**



O'Hara

# Was Martin Luther King Ready for the Nobel Prize?

Several Norwegian newspapers have expressed misgivings about the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Martin Luther King. Their feeling is that Dr. King's career has been national rather than worldwide, and that he therefore does not qualify under the rules.

Since the Norwegians have cast some doubt on Dr. King's eligibility, I am emboldened to make a few comments of my own. I don't think he should have got it, either, and naturally I am going to tell you why.

For the most part I have been sympathetic to Dr. King, as I believe are most people in the United States. His proclaimed policy of non-violence is praiseworthy, and there is no possible way to estimate the number of lives it may have saved.

But Dr. King got off an airplane in New York during the Gilligan af-

fair excitement and declared to the TV audience that "murder" had been committed. (Gilligan is a police lieutenant who shot and killed a 15-year-old boy, who he said attacked him with a knife, and the grand jury refused to indict him.)

Just in case the TV audience missed it the first time, Dr. King repeated the word murder. The first time might have been a slip of the tongue; the second time was deliberate.

## Caution Is Essential

In the newspaper business we are awfully careful about how we use that word, murder. One chain of papers barred the word in any circumstances, just as another paper on which I once worked had a rule against the use of the word blood except in medical stories.

It therefore surprised me that the TV people allowed Dr. King to utter the word twice in the same inter-

view. Lieutenant Gilligan had not yet been indicted on any charge, and as I said before, the grand jury subsequently failed to indict him when his case came up.

Gilligan, incidentally, had been decorated 19 times during his career as a police officer. Nevertheless Dr. King, who had not even been in New York at the time of the shooting, characterized the policeman's act as "murder" and did so at a time when all hell was ready to break loose. That's non-violence, what is meant by rabble-rousing?

Dr. King is no Malcolm X or Cassius Clay; he had been regarded as the man who more than anyone else in the United States had the trust of both Negroes and whites. He had had plenty of time to think of what he was going to say to the interviewers at the airport. He is an articulate man, who generally speaks in paragraphs rather than sentences. He is a clergyman, accustomed to

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The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 11-1-64  
"The Sunday Bulletin"  
Philadelphia, Pa.

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addressing his congregations from the pulpit.

But his repeated use of the word murder was reckless and irresponsible, and I wonder what he thinks of it now that he has been given the Nobel Peace Prize. Apart from the fact that a grand jury, having considered all the facts in the case, refused to indict the police officer, and thereby in effect established his innocence of the charge, there remains the negative fact that Dr. King has never to my knowledge withdrawn his accusation.

This was a New York County grand jury, and not a panel of red-necks and hardboots and woolhats, whose findings might have been suspect. The task of a grand jury is not to determine a defendant's guilt or innocence; its task is to decide whether the facts in a case warrant a court trial. But if the grand jury does not return a true bill, that ends it, so far as the judicial process is concerned.

In this case, however, an outstanding Negro leader had twice characterized the shooting as murder, and when the grand jury failed to indict Gilligan for murder, manslaughter, or anything else, it was Dr. King's duty to make some amends for his terribly serious charge. Dr. King knows the law; more important than that, he knows something about justice.

### A Long Way

Martin Luther King is 35 years old, and he has come a long way. He is the youngest man ever to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and he may not have been quite ready for it. But the award is a fait accompli; it is on the books and as long as there is a World Almanac, or a world, Dr. King's name will be recorded in the history of 1964.

He has announced that the money — about \$53,000 — will be put to good use, and I haven't the

slightest doubt about that. The question in my mind is not whether he qualified under the terms of the sphere of his influence, which disturbed the Norwegian newspapers.

He has that influence now, by virtue of the prestige that attaches to the winner of the prize. He now has six names: Martin Luther King Nobel Prize Winner. That will be his name for the rest of his life, and his children and grandchildren will partake of the benefits of his prestige.

But if he has come a long way from Detroit, he likewise has a long way to go. He can certainly count on at least 25 active years ahead, and I am not going to be around to see how he comes out. I believe that the award was both timely and premature.

If I turn out to be wrong, the whole country will benefit by Dr. King's proof of my wrongness. And so will he. (© 1964)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

# DR. KING OPPOSES GOLDWATER WIN 157-833 Social Disruption Feared If Senator Is Elected

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., yesterday said that a Goldwater victory at the polls Tuesday would generate "A long night of social disruption for this nation."

Furthermore, said the Nobel Peace Prize winner and integrationist leader, "Goldwater is being supported by the most ferocious racists in the country . . . he espouses platitudes that give aid and comfort to these people . . . and his election would intensify the discontent, frustration and disappointment and seething desperation in the Negro community . . . and the poor generally."

Dr. King made these remarks at a morning press conference prior to a formal speech to Negro

ministers at the Faith Baptist Church, North Bond and Ashland streets.

He arrived in Baltimore Friday night for a day of campaigning yesterday to get out the vote, emphasizing to his predominantly Negro audiences the "need to vote 'yes' on Question 5," the Statewide public accommodations proposal.

At the press conference, Dr. King was asked if he thought "chaos would come about if Goldwater did, in fact, win."

"Threat To Freedom"

"We would see chaos, yes," he said, "and there's danger that the words of non-violence would intensify and fall on deaf ears."

Dr. King explained that he does "not indorse President Johnson directly . . . but it is my personal convictions that I stand against the candidacy of Goldwater."

"Never in the history of our nation has there been a more important election," he said at the outset of his speech.

"Goldwater is a threat to freedom . . ."

Mentioning first his winning of the Nobel Peace Prize, Dr. King told the small group of nearly 100 ministers:

"It helps of course to know that

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

26 THE SUN

THE EVENING SUN

THE SUNDAY SUN

THE AMERICAN

BALTIMORE, MD.

Date: 11/1/64

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: R.M.

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: BALTIMORE

☐ Being Investigated

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126 NOV 10 1964

File  
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the tide of world opinion is on our side."

He explained that the reason he usually didn't support one candidate over the other is that "it is better to be in a position to be critical to either, master or servant to neither, but the conscience of both."

"But Brother Goldwater has presented me with such a dilemma... never before has a Presidential candidate taken a stand against the prophetic insights of the ages..."

"We have people running for office today who refuse to feed the poor," he declared.

"And when the good Lord asks you what you've done," he continued, "the great question of the day is not how many degrees one has, the question is not how many peace prizes you've won, the question is, of this election, what did you do for others?"

#### "Airtight Cage Of Poverty"

Building his speech to a high emotional pitch, the speaker clenched his fist and said:

"We're smothered in an airtight cage of poverty in an affluent society."

Between each phrase, the ministers echoed his words, adding to the heightened atmosphere in the room.

Speaking in low, modulated tones, he said:

"Tuesday this nation is going to decide what it's going to do with 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 of the poor."

Time and again Dr. King told his listeners to vote "yes" on Question 5.

"Tell your people," he said to the ministers, "to have the men organize car pools, for women to set up baby-sitting teams... your stressing this tomorrow in

church may determine the margin of victory."

When his oratory reached a high pitch, Dr. King declared:

"I have a dream... I haven't been to the promised land, but I've been to the mountain top... and we're going to get there. There are a few giants there, blocking us, but we will get in that promised land and when we do, every rabbi, every preacher will know we're talking about the same God. He's working for all of us. Dark yesterdays will be transformed to bright tomorrows..."

Following the speech at the church, a motorcade of a dozen cars, escorted by motorcycle police, drove on East Preston street, ending up at the Masonic Temple in the 1300 block North Eutaw street.

Crowds along the way were sparse. When a cluster of a dozen persons or so were at a street corner, Dr. King and those in his car waved. For the most part the waves were returned.

At the Temple the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, treasurer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told an overflowing crowd of more than 1,500 persons:

"Everything is not well here in Baltimore. There is still a trace of Egypt here. We don't like it and we here and now serve notice that the Negro don't like segregation and we're going to fight like the dickens."

"We're going to perform a surgical operation of cancer at the polls," he went on, "and restore our democratic health."

Then came Mayor McKeldin who declared "There must be a time when we all must stand up and be counted, and I will do what I can."

"My father followed Theodore

Roosevelt into the Republican party but his son will leave that party for once at this time."

As the audience wildly applauded the city's chief executive, he declared:

"What a terrible day it is when the party of Lincoln has such people as Wallace... as that Thurmond... as Barnett."

Following an ovation the Mayor presented Dr. King with a certificate from the citizens of Baltimore "for your outstanding work... as a symbol of your people."

The Rev. Marion C. Bascom, minister at the Douglas Memorial Church, spoke briefly, but perhaps was the most caustic of the day's speakers when he said:

"You know in your hearts he may be right... but in your guts you know he's a nut."

The temple rocked with approving shouts.

After the speech, the motorcade went to Lafayette Market where nearly 5,000 persons cheered and waved as the integrationist leader approached.

#### Women In Curlers

Along the route, as was the case after Dr. King left the Lord Baltimore Hotel on his way to the breakfast, an occasional half-shaven customer would wave from in front of a barber shop.

Mr. King spoke again about the importance of voting Tuesday, "that with more than 140,000 Negroes registered in Baltimore... we should have nearly all of them voting 'yes' on question 5."

In the crowd were small chil-

dren, many dressed in Halloween costumes, some with small bags in their hands.

On one vehicle, belonging to a member of the Urban League which helped to staff the King entourage during its stay in the city, a Halloween sign read: "Johnson for President," and under it was a pumpkin. Next to it was a black witch and it read: "Goldwater."

After leaving Lafayette Market, Dr. King was escorted to the airport.

Baltimore was the sixth city Dr. King has come to before election day to help get the Negro vote out to the polls.





MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

*"I haven't been to the promised land . . . but I've been to the mountain top . . ."*

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)



## JOHN O'HARA

# Dr. King and the Prize

SEVERAL NORWEGIAN newspapers have expressed misgivings about the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Martin Luther King. Their feeling is that Dr. King's career has been national rather than world-wide, and that he therefore does not qualify under the rules. Since the Norwegians have cast some doubt on Dr. King's eligibility, I am emboldened to make a few comments of my own. I don't think he should have got it, either, and naturally I am going to tell you why.

For the most part I have been sympathetic to Dr. King, as I believe are most people in the United States. His proclaimed policy of nonviolence is praiseworthy, and there is no possible way to estimate the number of lives it may have saved. But Dr. King got off an airplane in New York during the Gilligan affair excitement and declared to the TV audience that "murder" had been committed. (Gilligan is a police lieutenant who shot and killed a young man who attacked him with a knife, and the grand jury refused to indict him.) Just in case the TV audience missed it the first time, Dr. King repeated the word murder. The first time might have been a slip of the tongue; the second time was deliberate.

IN THE NEWSPAPER business we are awfully careful about how we use that word, murder. One chain of papers barred the word in any circumstances, just as another paper on which I once worked had a rule against the use of the word blood except in medical stories. It therefore

surprised me that the TV people allowed Dr. King to utter the word twice in the same interview. Lieutenant Gilligan had not yet been indicted on any charge, and as I said before, the grand jury subsequently failed to indict him when his case came up. Gilligan, incidentally, is a cop who had been decorated nineteen times during his career as a police officer. Nevertheless Dr. King, who had not even been in New York at the time of the shooting, characterized the policeman's act as "murder" and did so at a time when all hell was ready to break loose. If that's nonviolence, what is meant by rabble-rousing? Dr. King is no Malcolm X or Cassius Clay; he had been regarded as the man who more than anyone else in the United States had the trust of both Negroes and whites. He had had plenty of time to think of what he was going to say to the interviewers at the airport. He is an articulate man, who generally speaks in paragraphs rather than sentences. He is a clergyman, accustomed to addressing his congregations from the pulpit. But his repeated use of the word murder was reckless and irresponsible, and I wonder what he thinks of it now that he has been given the Nobel Peace Prize. Apart from the fact that a grand jury, having considered all the facts in the case, refused to indict the police officer, and thereby in effect established his innocence of the charge, there remains the negative fact that Dr. King has never to my knowledge withdrawn his accusation.

This was a New York County

Mr. Tolson  
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Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 10-31-64

Edition: RED STREAK

Author:

Editor: JOHN STANTON

Title:

NOT RECORDED

12 NOV 13 1964

Character:

or

CHICAGO

Classification:

Submitting Office:

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grand jury, and not a panel of red-necks and hardboots and woolhats, whose findings might have been suspect. The task of a grand jury is not to determine a defendant's guilt or innocence; its task is to decide whether the facts in a case warrant a court trial. But if the grand jury does not return a true bill, that ends it, so far as the judicial process is concerned. In this case, however, an outstanding Negro leader had twice characterized the shooting as murder, and when the grand jury failed to indict Gilligan for murder, manslaughter, or anything else, it was Dr. King's duty to make some amends for his terribly serious charge. Dr. King knows the law; more important than that, he knows something about justice.

MARTIN LUTHER KING is thirty-five years old, and he has come a long way. He is, I believe, the youngest man ever to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and he may not have been quite ready for it. But the award is a *fait accompli*; it is on the books and as long as there is a World Almanac, or a world, Dr. King's name will be recorded in the history of 1964. He has announced that the money—about \$50,000—will be put to good use, and I haven't the slightest doubt about that. The question in my mind is not whether he qualified under the terms of the sphere of his influence, which disturbed the Norwegian newspapers. He has that influence now, by virtue of the prestige that attaches to the winner of the prize. He now has six names: Martin Luther King Nobel Prize Winner. That will be his name for the rest of his life, and his children and grandchildren will partake of the benefits of his prestige. But if he has come a long way from Detroit, he likewise has a long way to go. He can certainly count on at least twenty-five years ahead, and I am not going to be around to see how he comes out. I believe that the award was both untimely and premature. If I turn out to be wrong, the whole country will benefit by Dr. King's proof of my wrongness. And so will ~~the~~ \_\_\_\_\_.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Dr. King Urges Vote Against Segregation

Dr. Martin Luther King urged a cheering crowd of admirers today to strike a blow against segregation by going to the voting booths Tuesday.

Speaking from an open truck, Dr. King said his trip through East Baltimore was not on behalf of either Presidential candidate, but "personally, I cannot vote for Senator Goldwater."

The 35-year-old civil rights leader, recent winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, rode in an open convertible up Gay street while throngs of men, women and children pushed forward to squeeze his hand and pat his back.

### Crowd Presses Car

A wild spontaneous crowd pressing to the sides of his car almost brought the motorcade to a halt at several points. Children and teen-agers stumbled over each other for a chance to get closer to the Negro minister.

There were no injuries, however, and uniformed and plainclothes police managed to keep the crowd in hand.

In the 500 block of North Gay street a school band played "On Wisconsin" and Dr. King received a cheer as enthusiastic as any Lenny Moore, the Colt football player, might receive on a successful Sunday afternoon at Memorial Stadium.

### Leaves Convertible

Dr. King stepped out of the convertible at Gay and Aisquith streets and on to the back of the truck for his address.

He was introduced by Bayard Rustin, who organized last year's march on Washington, as the man "who taught us to say 'we want freedom now'."

Dr. King almost immediately seized the crowd after he began his speech, concentrating on Tuesday's election.

"We have got to get rid of

slums, ghettos, poverty and unemployment," Dr. King shouted.

"We want to get rid of segregation," he went on.

"We're through with it now and henceforth and forever more."

With the crowd responding with "amen" and hanging on to Dr. King's words, he declared:

"But if we are going to get rid of these things we must recognize the power of the ballot. We have got to take a short walk to the voting booth (on Tuesday) because this is the most crucial and decisive election in our history."

### Notes Strides in Md.

Reporting on the civil rights movement in the United States today, Dr. King asserted, "we haven't reached the promised land, but we're out of Egypt."

"You've made some strides here in Maryland, indicating there are some white people of goodwill in this State," Dr. King then urged the crowd to vote "yes" on "Question 5," the State-wide public accommodations issue that was petitioned to the ballot by referendum.

"We must say next Tuesday in Maryland, segregation is a cancer in the body politic that must be rooted out."

### Crowds Jog Along

After beseeching the crowd congregated at the wide intersection to maintain their posture of non-violence in their drive for equal rights, Dr. King reentered his car and drove off with most of the crowd jogging along to the Faith Baptist Church, at Bond street and Ashland avenue.

There, he joined local Negro ministers and leaders in breakfast and received from the Rev. Sidney Daniels a scroll acknowledging Dr. King's visit to the city.

He was scheduled later today to address a mass rally at the Masonic Temple in the 1300 block of North Eutaw street and then pick up another motorcade for a ride down Pennsylvania avenue.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

THE SUN

20 THE EVENING SUN

THE SUNDAY SUN

THE  
AMERICAN

BALTIMORE, MD.

Date: 10/31/64

Edition: FIVE STAR

Author:

Editor:

Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character:

Classification:

Submitting Office: BALTIMORE

☐ Being Investigated

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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UPI-241

(KING)

CLEVELAND--THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCH, IN A CONVENTION RESOLUTION IT ADOPTED, TODAY EXPRESSED REGRET THAT DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING "HAS BEEN REPRESENTED...AS A PEACE-LOVING CHRISTIAN MINISTER..."

THE COUNCIL PASSED A RESOLUTION QUESTIONING KING'S ACTIVITIES, SAYING THAT "DR. KING IS AN ACTIVE LEADER IN THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND AGREES WITH ITS LIBERAL PLATFORM AND PROGRAM WHICH ARE SO CONTRARY TO THE FUNDAMENTALIST VIEW OF SCRIPTURE AND TO THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE."

"KING PRESCRIBES TO THE IDEA THAT THERE IS HONOR AND VIRTUE IN BREAKING THE LAW AND BEING ARRESTED," THE RESOLUTION SAID. "INSTEAD OF THE FURTHERANCE OF BROTHERHOOD AMONG MEN, KING HAS BEEN DEEPLY INVOLVED WITH...THE FURTHERANCE OF TENSIONS AND VIOLENCE AMONG MEN."

10/29--N1149 PES

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60 NOV 12 1964

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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A HAPPY Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. hugged his wife, Coretta, at a press conference in Atlanta, Ga., after the announcement that he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The Negro leader said he considered the award not "merely an honor to me personally", but as a tribute to millions of Negro Americans and their white allies in the civil rights struggle.

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 OCT 27 1964

68 OCT 29 1964

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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UPI-127

(KING)

CLEVELAND, OHIO.--NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING SAID HERE TODAY 98 PER CENT OF AMERICA'S NEGRO VOTERS WILL VOTE AGAINST SEN. GOLDWATER.

DR. KING SAID THE VOTE AGAINST GOLDWATER WILL BE "NOT BECAUSE HE IS A RACIST HIMSELF BUT BECAUSE HIS PHILOSOPHY GIVES AID AND COMFORT TO RACISTS."

KING WAS CLOSELY GUARDED BY POLICE AS HE TOURED THE CITY URGING NEGROES NOT TO BECOME SO OVERCONFIDENT ABOUT A JOHNSON VICTORY THAT THEY NEGLECT TO VOTE NOV. 3.

"THE NEGRO VOTE CAN BE THE DECIDING FORCE IN THE ELECTION," HE SAID IN AN INTERVIEW BEFORE HIS TOUR.

HE DENIED THAT MOST NEGROES WILL VOTE FOR JOHNSON AS A LESSER OF TWO EVILS. "MOST NEGROES TAKE JOHNSON IN GOOD FAITH. THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN STRONG ON CIVIL RIGHTS--HIS RECORD SHOWS IT--AND THAT IS WHAT THE NEGRO IS VOTING FOR," HE SAID.

"GOLDWATER'S RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS IS SUCH THAT NO SELF-RESPECTING NEGRO CAN VOTE FOR HIM. HE SAYS LEGISLATION CAN'T CHANGE PEOPLE'S HEARTS BUT I SAY THAT LEGISLATION CAN RESTRAIN THE HEARTLESS AND REGULATE THEIR BEHAVIOR."

DR. KING SAID THAT GOLDWATER HAD CONSISTENTLY TAKEN A STAND FOR STATE'S RIGHTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS. "THE STAND TAKEN BY GOV. GEORGE WALLACE OF ALABAMA AND GOV. PAUL JOHNSON OF MISSISSIPPI," HE SAID.

10/23--N446PED

100-106120-17  
 OCT 23 1964

100-106120-170

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Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

## Dr. King Tells Progress In South, Nation

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said here Wednesday night that communities all over the South are complying with the new Civil Rights Act.

He emphasized observance of the public accommodations section of the law, which was most criticized by Southern whites before Congress passed the law in July.

Dr. King, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spoke at the first meeting of the Concert Forum series in Temple Shalom, 3480 N. Lake Shore.

### Significant Strides Seen

He said racial segregation in this country "is on its deathbed. The only question is how costly segregationists will make the funeral."

The 35-year-old minister, who last week became the third Negro in history to win a Nobel prize, said the "chains of slavery" have been broken and the nation stands "on the borders of the promised land of integration."

He said "significant strides" have been made in extending the frontiers of civil rights but warned against what he called the attitude of the extreme optimist.

### 'Long Way To Go'

Such a person says "the problem of segregation is solved and we can now sit down and wait for the inevitable."

"I agree that . . . we have come a long way," Dr. King told the capacity crowd of 2,500 persons, "but we still have a long, long way to go."

On the other hand, Dr. King said the extreme pessimist is as far wrong in his direction as the extreme optimist.

### The Pessimistic View

"The pessimist says we have made only minor strides and there are deep rumblings of discontent, as shown by the presence of troops in (racially troubled cities) and the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan."

Then he sits down and says we can't do anything."

Dr. King said he advocates the "realistic approach," the one that recognizes both how much the nation has done to solve its racial problems and how much remains to be done.

### Equality Called Need

"The doctrine of black supremacy is as dangerous as that of white supremacy," he added, because the people of the United States must work out their problems as equals.

Dr. King said that, while everyone seeks to lead a well-adjusted life, there are things to which one should not adjust.

"I prefer to stay maladjusted to discrimination, segregation, religious bigotry, economic wrongs and the madness of military might," he said. "That is why I find it necessary to oppose (Sen. Barry) Goldwater."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

10-22-64

Date: FIVE STAR FINAL

Edition:

Author:

Editor: JOHN G. TPEZEVANT

Title:

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

66 NOV 6

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26 NOV 6 1964



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REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr. has received the following telegram from George Meany, AFL-CIO president:

"On behalf of the American labor movement, I wish to congratulate you as the recipient of this year's Nobel Peace Prize.

"This recognition of your valuable contribution to the cause of freedom and human dignity has highlighted today's struggle to bring about equality of opportunity for all our citizens."

REV. KING

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 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
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**REV. DR. MARTIN Luther King**, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and one of the country's outstanding civil rights fighters, was awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace prize in Oslo, Norway on Oct. 14.

Dr. King thus joined Prof. Linus Pauling, who received this honor in 1963.

Dr. King is the second American Negro to receive the award. In 1950 it went to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche for his services with the United Nations.

Another civil rights fighter to be honored with the peace award is Albert John Luthuli of South Africa who received the prize in 1960. Luthuli is held in house arrest by the South African government.

Dr. King will officially be awarded the prize at a ceremony at Oslo University on Dec. 10.



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The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date 10/17/64

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68 OCT 28 1964

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### View From Outside

Awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to MARTIN LUTHER KING has brought sneers from segregationists and cheers from civil rights leaders.

To be blunt about it, it is stretching the imagination to say that Dr. KING has made a major contribution to the peace of the world. He has been the advocate of non-violence in the Negro's struggle in America, but the movement with which he has been associated has been anything but peaceable. While Dr. KING has preached non-violence in the open, under the surface his leadership has unfortunately stimulated the radicalism that has turned into rioting.

The jury which awarded the Nobel Peace Prize has helped to inscribe the name of MARTIN LUTHER KING in the history books of the future. The motivation for the choice was to find a figure of international fame who symbolizes the worldwide ascendancy of the dark-skinned people. We might, at least, be pleased that the prize went to an American, rather than to one of the tyrannical leaders of the various neophyte nations of Africa or Asia.

RALPH BUNCHE, undersecretary of the United Nations, came close to the basic truth of the selection when he said it was "international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for equality."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page-6

The Commercial Appeal

Memphis, Tenn.

NOT RECORDED  
26 OCT 26 1964

Date: 10-16-64

Edition: Final

Author:

Editor: Frank R. Ahlgren

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Memphis

☐ Being Investigated

66 OCT 27 1964

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## Peacemaker

Martin Luther King is not an Arkansan but he is a Southerner, and regional pride is warranted now that he has received the Nobel Peace Prize, perhaps the highest honor that can be conferred upon a living person.

The South, of course, created not only Dr. King but the domestic problems which, because he tackled them, brought him an honor more often awarded for those who seek to make peace among nations. There are still those in the South who view Dr. King as a dangerous and alien radical but their number has decreased as more has become known about Dr. King, and as we have been forced by things Dr. King has helped set in motion to confront our own situations, and those of Dr. King's people. Dr. King has been an advocate of peace with justice, of change in equity, of protest with nonviolence.

By now a truism, but still important, is that the Negro militants of our time have sought not separation but union with white America. Dr. King has best, most eloquently and most comprehensively expressed this healing character of the protests. Of all the advocates of racial equality, he has most consistently spoken to the conscience of the white South; he has reminded us again and again that the claims of his race are founded not only on law but on morality—that to deny the Negro equality is to deny our religion and our national heritage of freedom, that segregation cripples both the man held in the ditch and the man down in the ditch to do the holding.

—There are many signs of hope in the South this fall, and perhaps as good a sign as any is that most of us are more prepared than before to give Dr. King a fair hearing. That's all he has ever asked, and that is all his cause will need.

69 OCT 26 1964

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Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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Arkansas Gazette

Little Rock, Arkansas

Date: 10/16/64

Edition: AM

Author:

Editor: J.N. HEISKELL

Title:

Character: 157-260  
or 80-338

Classification: Little Rock  
Submitting Office:

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### Is Nobel Prize Really for Peace?

Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. is the second American Negro to win the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1950 Ralph Johnson Bunche was awarded it for his service to world peace as the U.N. mediator on Palestine in 1948-49.

Prior to his mission to the Middle East, Bunche had earned international recognition as a diplomat and student of world affairs. Occasionally he has taken on active part in promoting civil rights in the United States.

But Negroes have benefited little or nothing from his making an issue of membership in a private club. Instead, he has contributed to world respect for Negroes by being a man of great talent and achievement.

Although King is known internationally as a civil rights leader, his work has been entirely in this country and mainly in the South. He has preached non-violence, yet demonstrations which he helped organize and many more that were inspired by his teachings all too often have ended in violence.

What he has done for domestic peace much less world brotherhood completely escapes us. If the Nobel prize is for civil rights activity then he deserves it, although the honor for that might be disputed in behalf of Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish socialist whose "American Dilemma" has been a great influence on U.S. government civil rights policies.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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Arkansas Democrat

Little Rock, Arkansas

Date: 10/18/64  
Edition: Final  
Author:  
Editor: EUGENE I.  
Title: HERRINGTON

Character:  
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Classification: 157-260  
Submitting Office: Little Ro

58 OCT 22 1964

OCT 28 1964

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## 'Peace' Prize for Dr. King

News that the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize had been awarded to DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING must have puzzled people of goodwill who regard the civil rights crusader as a highly controversial figure.

The Nobel Institute, in announcing the award, said that Dr. KING has "consistently asserted the principle of non-violence." The more thoughtful among his countrymen may question whether his calls for mass demonstrations in defiance of local laws have been conducive to inter-racial peace.

If the Nobel peace prize, founded by the inventor of dynamite, had been awarded for incitement to potentially explosive civil disobedience, there would be no cause for controversy.

Dr. KING's disciples and apologists say he patterned his program on GANDHI's principle of passive resistance to laws imposed by the British rulers of India. It is significant, however, that GHANDI, a man of international stature, was never awarded the Nobel peace prize.

ALFRED BERNHARDT NOBEL's will directed that the prize in question be awarded to persons or institutions credited with most effective work in the interest of international peace.

No one will dispute that Dr. KING's crusade has been effective in fostering civil disobedience in behalf of what he and his followers believe to be moral grounds. But we fail to see how the Norwegian Parliament (which selects the peace award winners) arrived at the conclusion that Dr. KING's agitation contributed to better understanding between nations, or helped to ease tension between Communist and non-Communist spheres of influence.

Nor can we believe that Dr. KING's political achievements have raised him to the level of such peace prize recipients as WOODROW WILSON, DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER, GEN. GEORGE C. MARSHALL, or the International Red Cross, honored for its magnificent relief work after World War II.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

20

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH  
 RICHMOND, VA.


Date: 10/15/64  
 Edition:  
 Author:  
 Editor: Virginus Dabney  
 Title:

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 Classification:  
 Submitting Office: Richmond  
☐ Being Investigated

64 OCT 23 1964

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UPI-31

(KING)

ATLANTA--NEGRO LEADER MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SAID YESTERDAY THAT "EVERY PENNY" OF THE \$54,600 HE RECEIVES AS WINNER OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WILL GO INTO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

KING WAS INFORMED HE HAD WON THE PRIZE WHILE IN A HOSPITAL, WHERE HE WAS UNDERGOING A ROUTINE PHYSICAL CHECKUP. A RECENT EUROPEAN TOUR AND SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS HAD LEFT HIM "COMPLETELY EXHAUSTED," HIS WIFE SAID.

AT AN IMPROMPTU NEWS CONFERENCE IN ST. JOSEPH'S INFIRMARY FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AWARD IN OSLO, NORWAY, KING SAID HE WAS "FILLED WITH DEEP HUMILITY AND GRATITUDE."

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 OCT 20 1964

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# Dr. King's Selection Draws Varying Comment in Nation

From News Dispatches

ATLANTA, Oct. 14 — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. who was announced as winner of the Nobel Peace Prize today, is a man who has preached both peace and protest.

Perhaps more than any other man the 35-year-old Baptist minister has been responsible for the massive, nonviolent protests against racial discrimination in America.

Yet through it all he has spoken time after time for nonviolence, for peaceful demonstrations. He has refused to be deterred by four apparent attempts on his life.

"Nonviolent protest is the most effective weapon of an oppressed people," he has said.

Dr. King took up his crusade at 26 from the pulpit of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at Montgomery, Ala., in 1955. Negroes in Montgomery boycotted segregated city buses for 381 days, touching off bombings of their churches, street attacks by white men and mob violence. A court ruling finally desegregated the buses.

## Jailed in South

In 1960 Dr. King created the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which he still heads.

Dr. King was jailed many times in connection with racial demonstrations in the South.

Some Southern officials reacted angrily to the selection of Dr. King as the Nobel Peace Prize winner, but he won warm praise in other quarters.

Eugene (Bull) Connor, who was Police Commissioner of Birmingham, Ala., at the time of Dr. King's massive desegregation drive in the steel city in 1963, said "they're scraping the bottom of the barrel."

Police Chief Virgil Stuart of St. Augustine, Fla., declared:

"I consider it one of the biggest jokes of the year. How can you win the Peace Prize when you stir up all the trouble he did down here?"

Former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, now a Democratic candidate for the Senate in New York State, sent Dr. King a message saying the honor was "richly deserved." He said Dr. King had symbolized "the struggle of mankind for justice and equality through nonviolent means" in his life and work.

Another message of warm

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NOT RECORDED  
125 OCT 22 1964

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The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

67 OCT 26 1964

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Congratulations came from Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP in New York.

"All Americans, irrespective of race, religion or region of residence, can justly take pride in the international recognition" accorded Dr. King, Wilkins said in a telegram.

**"Troubles and Violence"**

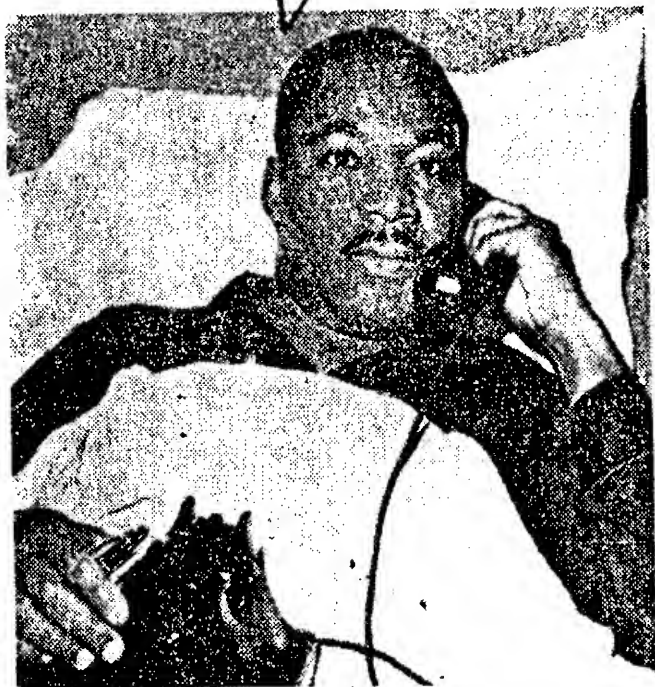
"I think with all the troubles for which he was responsible in several states in this Union, that it strikes a note of sadness in the hearts of many peace-loving people," said Mississippi Gov. Paul B. Johnson at the Southern Governors Conference in San Antonio, Tex.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama refused comment, as did many other Southern officials.

United Nations Under Secretary Ralph Bunche, the first Negro to win the Prize, hailed Dr. King's selection as "international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for equality."

In St. Louis, the Right Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, said at the 61st General Convention of the denomination: "I am delighted to hear the news about Dr. King. He is one of the great men of our times . . . I salute my brother in Christ."

# Martin Luther King Wins The Nobel Prize for Peace



Associated Press Wirephoto

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in St. Joseph's Infirmary in Atlanta for routine physical examination, learns he has been designated to receive Nobel Peace Prize.

Special to The New York Times

OSLO, Norway, Oct. 14—The Nobel Peace Prize for 1964 was awarded today to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The 35-year-old civil rights leader is the youngest winner of the prize that Dr. Alfred Nobel instituted since the first was awarded in 1901.

The prize is given to the person "who has done most for the furtherance of brotherhood among men and to the abolishment or reduction of standing armies and for the extension of these purposes."

The Norwegian state radio changed its program schedule tonight to broadcast a 30-minute program in honor of Dr. King. The prize winner was heard here in a broadcast from Atlanta, Ga. He said that he was deeply moved by the honor.

Dr. King said that "every penny" of the prize money, which amounts to about \$54,000, would be given to the civil rights movement. "I am glad people of other nations are concerned with our problems here," he said. He added that he regarded the prize as a sign that world public opinion was on the side of those struggling for freedom and dignity.

He also said he saw no political implications in the award. "I am a minister of the gospel, not a political leader," he said.

The United States Ambassador in Oslo, Miss Margaret Joy Tibbetts, said tonight: "As an American and representative of the American people, I want to express joy and gratitude that one of my fellow countrymen has been awarded this prize." She praised the role of Dr. King "among his fellow countrymen."

He is also the 12th American to receive the peace prize. The first, in 1950, was Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Under Secretary of the United Nations. In 1960 the former leader of the African National Congress in South Africa, Chief Albert Lutuli, received the award.

Dr. King is the 12th American to be awarded the peace prize. Dr. Nobel, the Swedish scientist who established it, was the inventor of dynamite. The award is given by the Norwegian Parliament.

The other Nobel prizes—for chemistry, physics, medicine and physiology, and literature—will be awarded later in Sweden.

The award to Dr. King will be made in Oslo Dec. 10.

## Tribute to Nonviolence Seen

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 14 — Dr. King said today that the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to him was a tribute to millions of Americans who followed the precepts of nonviolence.

He spoke from a room at St. Joseph's Infirmary here, where he was undergoing a checkup and getting some rest.

"I was deeply gratified to hear the news that I had been chosen for this most significant award," he said, "and I will certainly receive it with great humility and profound appreciation."

His wife, Coretta, said: "For many years we have had to contend with the other side. For something like this to happen makes it all worthwhile."

Dr. King, who said he would use the money to advance the civil rights movement, is the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an Atlanta-based organization that has programs in voter registration, citizenship training, and leadership development.

The organization has affiliates in several Southern cities. Most of them are operated through church groups.

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"I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally," Dr. King said, "but a tribute to the disciplined, wise restraint and majestic courage of gallant Negro and white persons of goodwill who have followed a nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours."

Dr. King said that he felt gratification in knowing that "the nations of the world," in bestowing the prize on him, "recognize the civil rights movement in this country as so significant a moral force as to merit such recognition."

After noting that he had not had a general physical checkup in two years, Dr. King said, "I just kind of got rundown." He said the checkup would take about two days, and that he would remain in the hospital for a day or two more "to get some rest."

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(KING)

LA JOLLE, CALIF.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES UTT, REPUBLICAN CALIF., HAS CRITICIZED THE SELECTION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. FOR THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

UTT TOLD THE LA JOLLA REPUBLICAN WOMEN YESTERDAY THAT "IF THERE HAS BEEN ANYBODY WHO EVER HAS STARTED REVOLUTION AND WAR ON THE STREETS OF THE UNITED STATES IT IS MARTIN LUTHER KING."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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# Nobel Peace Prize Goes to Rev. King

By BILL SHIPP

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Atlanta Negro Baptist minister jailed 15 times in nine years in his "non-violent" struggle for equal rights for his race, was announced Wednesday as the winner of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize.

The grandson of a Georgia slave learned of the coveted award in an Atlanta hospital where he is a patient.

The award, to be presented in Oslo, Norway, Dec. 10, includes \$54,123. Dr. King said, "Every penny of this money will go to the civil-rights movement and to further the work in the philosophy of non-violence."

Since King received the award without any direct action on his part, it is exempt from income taxes.

The 35-year-old minister, leader of thousands of Negroes in demonstrations across the South, is the first Georgian, the first Southerner, third Negro and 12th American to be awarded the Peace Prize.

"I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally, but a tribute to the discipline, wise restraint, and majestic courage of the millions of gallant Negro and white persons of good will who have followed a rule of love," Dr. King said in a prepared statement.

In announcing the 1964 winner of the coveted award, the Oslo Nobel Institute said:

"Martin Luther King has consistently asserted the principle of non-violence."

The announcement was met with silence from officials of

Georgia, King's home state.

The mayor of Atlanta, King's native city, publicly congratulated the Negro leader.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. said:

"I have extended personal congratulations to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., an Atlanta citizen, who has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. ... It should be recognized that Dr. King furnished to the Negro people

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Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
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Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1  
The Atlanta  
Constitution,  
Atlanta, Georgia

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the leadership that a white leader would have given his race should they have been a minority seeking equal rights and full citizenship."

Rep. Charles Weltner, King's congressman, said: "He is the first Georgian to win this prize. I hope many other Southerners will receive such recognition in the future."

Democratic officials privately expressed fear that the announcement would give new impetus to the "white backlash" and aid the presidential candidacy of Sen. Barry Goldwater.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner is selected each year by a committee appointed by the Norwegian Parliament under the terms of the will of the late dynamite magnate Alfred Nobel.

The first American to win the prize was President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906. The most recent was nuclear physicist and anti-nuclear campaigner Linus Pauling who received the 1962 prize last year after it had been deferred for a year.

Other American winners include President Woodrow Wilson, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Gen. George C. Marshall and United Nations Undersecretary General Ralph Bunche, the first Negro to win the award. Bunche's award presumably was for settling the Israeli-Arab war.

South African civil rights leader chief Albert Luthuli was the only other Negro to win the award.

King learned that he had won the award at St. Joseph's Infirmary. He said his wife phoned him the news early Wednesday morning.

#### THOUGHT A DREAM

"I thought I was still asleep. For a moment I thought it was all a dream," Dr. King said.

King is in the hospital for a checkup and he is suffering from "hanging virus," fatigue and overweight. He said he hopes to be released by Sunday so that he can attend a special ceremony at Ebenezer Baptist Church where he is copastor with his father.

The president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference posed for photographers in his hospital bed, then dressed and greeted about 50 newsmen at a press conference in the St. Joseph's auditorium Wednesday afternoon.

#### TALKS OF PLAN

King used the occasion, not only to express appreciation for the Peace Prize, but to outline plans for future civil rights activities and to denounce Sen. Goldwater.

"Never before has a presidential candidate taken such a negative stand," King said in urging a big turnout against the Republican candidate.

He was joined at the press conference by his wife, the former Coretta Scott.

#### SHARES FEELINGS

"I share the feelings of my husband. I am deeply grateful God has allowed me to participate in this non-violent movement," Mrs. King said.

A graduate of Morehouse College, King moved to Montgomery, Ala., in 1954 and led the 1955 boycott of Montgomery's segregated city buses. The boycott lasted 381 days, touching off bombings of Negro churches and street attacks by whites. But King won his point and the bus line finally was desegregated.

He said Wednesday that he considered Montgomery among his greatest triumphs because it "furnished the spark" for future activities.

In 1960, King returned to Atlanta. The following October, King came into the national spotlight for the first time. He was jailed for driving without a license. The late President John F. Kennedy telephoned

Mrs. King and Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy phoned the judge to inquire about bond. King was released, and the incident was credited with swinging thousands of votes to Kennedy.

In the months that followed King joined or led wide-scale assaults on segregation in Albany and Savannah and Birmingham, Ala., and Danville, Va. King Wednesday said Albany was one of the few cities where he suffered a "setback."

But Birmingham, he said, "awakened the national conscience" and led to passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Five young Negroes died in course of desegregation activities there.

#### LATEST ACTIVITY

King's latest activities centered around St. Augustine, Fla., and resulted in hundreds of arrests and brought Ku Klux Klansmen into the area for counter-protests.

The 5-foot-7-inch father of four has had three close brushes with death—a stabbing, and sniper and bombing attacks.

Nationally, reaction to King's award was predictable. Civil rights proponents, including Robert Kennedy and Roy Wilkins, sent hearty congratulations to King.

#### SCRAPING BOTTOM

But in Birmingham, former police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Conner said, "They're scraping the bottom of the barrel."

Virgil Stuart, police chief of St. Augustine, Fla., declared:

"I consider it one of the biggest jokes of the year. How can you win the Peace Prize when you stir up all the trouble he did down here?"



Staff Photo—Bob Denny  
**'GRATIFYING'**  
Dr. Martin L. King

# Man With a Dream

## Martin Luther King Jr.

THE telephone awoke the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. yesterday in an Atlanta hospital room, where he had gone for a rest. The caller was his wife, Coretta. She told him that he had just won the Nobel Peace Prize. "I was not fully awake," Dr. King said later. "For a while I thought it was a dream, and then I realized that it was true." Dreams are important to Dr. King. There was something of the visionary in the young Negro minister who was chosen to lead a bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala., in December, 1955.

He arrived in Montgomery with a solid education behind him. He was an undergraduate at Morehouse College in Atlanta, where his father was a highly-respected Baptist minister, and then was the top man in his class at Crozier Theological Seminary in Chester, Pa.

In 1954 he left Boston University with a doctorate in systematic theology. The woman who was to become his wife was an Alabamian who was studying music. They met in Boston.

The move to Montgomery was almost predictable. Mrs. King says. So was Dr. King's involvement in the now-famous bus boycott.

From Montgomery, Dr. King returned to his home in Atlanta. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was formed there, with Dr. King as its president. He spoke often of the teachings of Gandhi and Thoreau, and of the "nonviolent army" he was organizing throughout the South.

The army moved to Albany, Ga., in 1961. Some observers say Albany was a failure for Dr. King, but others say it played an important part in preparing the movement for Birmingham.

By the time the huge demonstrations in Birmingham had taken place, Dr. King was considered by many Americans—even the grim-faced police chiefs and the deputies who arrested him 15 times—as the greatest living leader of the Negro movement in the United States.



The New York Times

### A vision of brotherhood

Many showed respect for him even as they arrested him. They were careful not to let any harm come to the man who, in just a few years, had himself become a dream for millions of American Negroes.

Few of the 200,000 people who marched on Washington in August, 1963, or who watched the demonstration on television, have forgotten another of Dr. King's visions. He stood at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial and cried:

"I have a dream. . . . It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. . . . I have a dream that one day in the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. . . ."

By superficial standards, Dr. King may not look like an imposing civil rights leader. At 5 feet 8 inches, he might be considered insufficiently tall; at 35 years of age, he might be said to lack the mature appearance of a statesman.

He is not a notable admin-

istrator. The office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference seldom knows what his schedule is, and his associates frequently issue conflicting policy statements.

As a speaker, Dr. King is at his best in the crowded Negro churches in the Deep South where the people are dreaming of change. A trembling comes into his voice, and the people in the pews echo his words, like these he spoke in Albany, Ga., two years ago:

"So listen to me, children: Put on your marching shoes; don'tcha get weary; though the path ahead may be dark and dreary; we're walking for freedom, children. . . ."

The people that night walked out of the church, through the Negro section—and into the arms of the police. Dr. King was with them.

Now the civil rights act has insured the desegregation of public accommodations, and Dr. King is thinking of new ways to apply nonviolence to the long-range reforms sought by American Negroes.

He was asked yesterday whether there was a place for him in the new struggle.

He replied quietly: "History has thrust me into this position. It would both be immoral and a sign of ingratitude if I did not face my moral responsibility to do what I can in this struggle."

### On the Move

So Dr. King will probably soon forget about getting a rest in a hospital and will be flying about the country again, conferring with the President of the United States and easing Southern mayors into unavoidable positions. He will continue to spend about one-third of each month at his home in Atlanta with his wife and their four children.

The children, except for the youngest, are aware of the important role their father is playing. Bernice Albertine is 18 months old, and Dexter Scott is 3 years old. Yolanda, 8, wants to be a singer like her mother, a soprano who often is called on to sing at meetings of the many civic organizations she supports.

Martin Luther King 3d, who is 6, has already decided on a career, according to his father. "He says he wants to be a preacher," said Dr. King, "a preacher like his daddy."

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# CHEERS AND SCORN FOR NOBEL AWARD

## Rights Leaders Delighted— Perez Blames 'Reds'

Reactions to the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. ranged yesterday from enthusiastic applause among those identified with civil rights to bitter criticism among segregationists.

Abroad, the news that Dr. King had won the prize was said to have been greeted warmly in the Vatican, where Pope Paul VI received the American civil-rights leader last month in a private audience.

At the United Nations, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, who in 1950 became the first Negro to win the prize, hailed the award. But in Birmingham, Ala., where Dr. King led several massive anti-segregation demonstrations last summer, Eugene T. Connor, the former Police Commissioner, termed the selection "scraping the bottom of the barrel."

### Barnett Declines Comment

Some prominent Southerners declined to comment. They included Birmingham's Mayor, Albert Boutwell, and the former Governor of Mississippi, Ross Barnett. Ivan Allen Jr., Mayor of Atlanta, extended official congratulations.

Dr. Bunche, who is Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations and who won the Nobel prize for his work in arranging an Arab-Israeli truce in the Palestine war 15 years ago, sent "heartiest congratulations" to Dr. King.

"This announcement by the Nobel Peace Prize Committee," Dr. Bunche said, "is a striking international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for full equality in the American society and for full participation in the mainstream of American life."

### Connor Recalls 'Strife'

Mr. Connor, as Police Commissioner of Birmingham, several times used fire hoses and police dogs to disperse anti-segregation demonstrators. Hundreds of Negroes, including Dr. King, were arrested. At first Mr. Connor declined to comment on the award announcement in Oslo.

"I don't care enough about it to want to say anything," he remarked. "It's awarded over there and not here. They don't know him." Then he added: "They're scraping the bottom of the barrel when they pick him. He's more trouble than anyone I can think of."

Praise for the award to Dr. King came from Richard Cardinal Cushing, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston, who said that "all friends of liberty and peace" would rejoice.

In St. Louis, the Right Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, hailed Dr. King as "one of the great men of our times."

### Perez Seeks 'Red' Influence

Speaking at the 61st general convention of the Episcopal Church, Bishop Lichtenberger said of the Negro leader: "His dedication to the cause of freedom for all men, and his insistence on the use of nonviolent tactics in the struggle to achieve those rights, inspires and gives hope to countless millions around the world. I salute my brother in Christ."

The other Americans who have won or shared in the peace prize were:

President Theodore Roosevelt, 1906; Elihu Root, President Roosevelt's Secretary of State, 1912; President Woodrow Wilson, 1919; Vice President Charles E. Dawes, 1924; Frank Kellogg, President Calvin

Coolidge's Secretary of State, 1929.

Nicholas Murray Butler, educator and former president of Columbia University, shared award with Jane Addams, settlement worker and cofounder of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1931; Cordell Hull, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Secretary of State, 1945; John R. Mott, evangelist, shared award with Emily G. Balch, pacifist and co-founder of Women's International League with Miss Addams, 1946; Dr. Bunche, United Nations official, 1950, and Gen. George C. Marshall, Secretary of State under President Truman, 1953.

In addition, the American Friends and Service Committee, a Quaker organization, was awarded the prize in 1917.

In New Orleans, Leander H. Perez Sr., prominent segregationist, said of the award: "That only shows the Communist influence nationally and internationally. Shame on somebody."

In Atlanta Mayor Allen, in extending his city's congratulations, declared: "He has displayed remarkable leadership at both the national and international level to the 20 million American Negro citizens and has been instrumental in bringing full American citizenship to them."

### Kennedy Sends Message

Former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in the midst of his campaign to win a Senate seat from New York, told Dr. King in a message that the prize was "richly deserved" and that his life and work symbolized "the struggle of mankind for justice and equality through nonviolent means."

Many civil-rights leaders sent messages of congratulation to Dr. King. Among them was Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"All Americans irrespective of race, religion or region of residence," he wrote, "can justly take pride in the international recognition accorded your dedicated and fruitful efforts to achieve racial harmony."

In Richmond, the Rev. Aubrey Brown, editor of The Presbyterian Outlook, an unofficial organ of the Southern Presbyterian Church, said he applauded the award to Dr. King.

"The South ought to thank God every day for him," he said. "With his power and influence he has been able to direct into constructive channels what otherwise might have become irresponsible action and brought terrifying results."

But in St. Augustine, Fla., where there was racial violence on several occasions last summer when Dr. King headed anti-segregation demonstrations, Police Chief Virgil Stuart said of the award: "I consider it one of the biggest jokes of the year. How can you win the peace prize when you stir up all the trouble he did down here?"

And in Montgomery, Ala., sometimes referred to as the "Cradle of the Confederacy," Col. Albert J. Lingo, director of public safety, who has led police action against the rights demonstrations in his state, was asked to give his reaction to the award. "No comment on Martin Luther King," Colonel Lingo said. "But when he comes into this state, we'll see that he doesn't break any laws."

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AP United Press International  
 The Rev. Martin Luther King lies in an Atlanta hospital bed with a thermometer in his mouth. Mr. King had entered the hospital for a checkup. Yesterday he learned that he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

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# Dr. Martin Luther King Wins Nobel Peace Prize

From News Dispatches

OSLO, Oct. 14—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize today for his leadership of the U.S. civil rights movement. At 35, he is one of the youngest to win the prize.

King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, became the 12th American and the third Negro to win the award, which this year is worth \$54,600.

(From St. Joseph's Hospital in Atlanta, where he was undergoing a medical examination, King said that "every penny of this money will go to the civil rights movement and to further the work in the philosophy of non-violence.

("I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally," he added, "but a

*Dr. King's selection  
draws mixed reaction in  
Nation. Page A17.*

tribute to the discipline, wise restraint and majestic courage of the millions of gailant Negro and white persons of good will who have followed a non-violent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this Nation of ours.")

The award was announced here by the Oslo Nobel Institute, which said King had "consistently asserted the principle of non-violence." The American clergyman was nominated last January by eight Swedish Parliament members.

His selection was no surprise in Oslo. Newspapers here and elsewhere in Europe, along with many European parliamentarians, had been active supporters of his candidacy.

The peace prize will be

awarded Dec. 10 at Oslo University in the presence of Norwegian King Olaf V. Other Nobel winners—for physics, chemistry, medicine and psychology and literature—will be chosen by the Nobel committee in Stockholm and will be announced later.

The prizes are awarded annually under the terms of the will of the late dynamite magnate Alfred Nobel.

The only other Negroes to win the award were South African civil rights leader Chief Albert Luthuli and American Ralph Bunche, now an undersecretary of the United Nations.

Bunche, who won the award in 1950 for negotiating armistice agreements that ended the 1948-49 fighting between Israel and its Arab neighbors, wired congratulations to King.

Bunche called the award "a striking international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for full equality in the American society and for full participation in the mainstream of American life. It is, moreover, a splendid and fully merited tribute to you personally for your courage in the devotion to that cause and struggle."

King, who has been jailed several times for his role in non-violent demonstrations by Negroes throughout the South, is co-pastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

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## Nobelman King

The world's newest winner of the Nobel Peace Prize is Dr. Martin Luther King, and in their hearts even those who differ with this Negro leader must know that the choice was right. Dr. King's gifts as an orator and as an organizer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have made him a national figure. But what has made Dr. King a world figure has been his determination to use his gifts to combat the spirit of violence as well as the blight of bigotry.

Dr. King is a conscious disciple of Ghandi, the prophet of passive resistance. The technique of passive resistance has been peculiarly effective for the American Negro, who must ultimately rely on the awakened conscience of a white majority to free both races from the bondage of hate. Beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott, Dr. King has proved immensely effective in channeling Negro militance into forms of demonstration that have been at once dramatic and nonviolent.

Curiously enough, Ghandi himself evolved the doctrine of passive resistance when he was a young lawyer practicing in South Africa. Ghandi was influenced by the Russian Tolstoi and by the Yankee individualist Thoreau. All of these sources have fused in the person of Martin Luther King, who has proved again the power of an idea whose time has come. Americans can rejoice in the selection made by a committee of the Norwegian Parliament for a prize that honors Dr. King's race and his country.

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# A TALE OF NON-VIOLENCE

By Alvin Krebs

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Only minutes after his Montgomery, Ala., home had been bombed by a racist one winter night in 1956, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. stood on the shattered front porch and said he loved his fellow man.

"Please be peaceful," the Negro minister told an angry group of followers who had surrounded the city's mayor and police commissioner. "We want to love our enemies. Be good to them. Love them. Christian love can bring brotherhood on earth. There is an element of God in every man."

These were exceedingly charitable words to come from any Negro man during those tense times in Montgomery, and particularly so from one whose wife had narrowly escaped injury from the racist's bomb.

But they were the sort of words that were typical of Dr. King, the kind that had recently launched his ultimately successful bus boycott in Montgomery, and which have governed him since on his mission to attain equal rights for American Negroes.

## NON-VIOLENCE

That mission, grounded in Dr. King's belief that peaceful, non-violent protest is the most effective weapon against racial injustice, yesterday won the 35-year-old Baptist minister the Nobel Peace Prize.

Along his crusade's way, Dr. King has become the most admired member of his race since Booker T. Washington. He is the Negro's leading spokesman and his moral influence is so great that he is doubtless the most powerful Negro in America today.

In many ways, Dr. King's ascendancy can be traced back to two women—one white, who slapped his face, the other Negro, who became a part of his destiny simply because one night her feet hurt.

Dr. King, son and grandson

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of Baptist ministers in Atlanta, had a more or less middle-class upbringing—except that he was a black boy in the South. His father was minister of Ebenezer Baptist Church, a rich and influential one.

But "M.L." as Dr. King has always been called by his family, early learned that as a Negro, he would always have to "know his place." He recalls many humiliations, but the one that stung most occurred in an Atlanta department store.

### THE SLAP

"You're the nigger who stepped on my foot," a white woman screamed, and slapped the young boy's face. "M.L." did nothing, for even then, he had a reputation for non-violence and was the constant whipping boy of the school bully.

The youth at first had no call toward the pulpit, being embarrassed, as he says he was, by "the emotionalism of Negro religion, the shouting and stamping." But at Atlanta's Morehouse College he read Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" and decided the ministry could be best used for social protest.

He also read the works of Mohandas K. Gandhi, whose passive resistance movement broke Britain's hold over India. "From my Christian background I gained my ideals," he said, "and from

Gandhi my operational techniques."

Those techniques were not put to use for the first time until late in 1955, after Dr. King had married Coretta Scott and obtained his doctorate at Boston University. He had not long been pastor of Montgomery's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church when the other woman, Rosa Parks, came into his life.

### FEET HURT

The Negro seamstress was ordered by a bus driver to get up and give her seat to a white man. This was custom in Montgomery, but Rosa Parks refused. "I don't really know why," she said later. "I was just tired. My feet hurt."

After Mrs. Parks was fined, the word flashed through Negro sections of the city and a bus boycott was launched. It was immediately 90 per cent effective. It nearly drove the bus company out of business and within a year, after the Supreme Court declared bus segregation in Montgomery illegal, the Negroes won. Dr. King had led the fight, as president of the Association.

"The rest of my life will be anti-climactic," Dr. King said of his victory, and for about a year he all but dropped out of the headlines. But in 1956 he led a "prayer pilgrimage" to the Lincoln Memorial and so impressed 25,000 Negroes who heard him that one leader said, "at this point, America's 16 million

Negroes will follow him anywhere."

Dr. King all but sat on the sidelines during the 1957 Little Rock crisis, and the following year, a mentally-deranged Negro woman stabbed him with a nail file in a Harlem department store as he autographed copies of his first book, "Stride Toward Freedom."

The file narrowly missed Dr. King's aorta and his long recovery was complicated by pneumonia. It was not until 1960 that he came once more to the civil-rights forefront with his passive resistance drive, moving into the Carolinas to lead lunch-counter sit-ins and freedom rides already inaugurated by students in about 40 communities.

It was at this time that Dr. King's original ideas of passive non-violence began to change. He embraced the weapon of civil disobedience, and began to call for "mass violation of immoral laws"—quite a bit more than the "passive resistance" he had earlier advocated—but he has never abandoned the non-violent ideal.

Segregationist reaction was swift and blunt. There have been four attempts on Dr. King's life. He has been jailed 15 times. He receives hundreds of abusive letters and phone calls monthly. ("This isn't a threat but a promise," read one letter. "Your head will be blown off as sure as Christ made green apples.")

Dr. King's dramatic involvement with sit-ins in the Carolinas and Atlanta,

where he was jailed for "speeding," quickly added to his reputation as a potent voice of the Negro revolt—a revolution he in no small measure sparked.

During the 1960 election campaign, the late John F. Kennedy called Mrs. King to express his concern over her husband's jailing. Robert F. Kennedy called the judge in the case to inquire about bail. Dr. King was released.

Many observers have since said these two moves by the Kennedy brothers probably swung enough Negro votes to elect the late President. Former President Eisenhower, for instance, observed that Richard M. Nixon may have lost the election because of these "couple of phone calls."

Some critics feel Dr. King, in the new militancy of his non-violent movement since 1960, made two grievous tactical errors that served to dim his lustre in leading demonstrations in Albany, Ga., and Birmingham, Ala.

~~Before~~ More than 1,000 Negroes marched to jail with Dr. King

in Albany in December, 1961, and the following spring, demanding an end to segregated public facilities. Dr. King vowed he'd remain in jail until Negro aims were achieved—but he was out two days later on bail.

"Looking back," he said later, "I'm sorry I was bailed out. I didn't understand what was happening. We thought victory was won, but it was a hoax. We lost an initiative and we never regained it."

### BIRMINGHAM

Defeated though he was, the Albany debacle did not stop Dr. King and his associates in the Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The next move came in Birmingham, the most segregated of all major Southern cities.

An aid explained the King attack plan: "We've got to have a crisis to bargain with. To take a moderate approach, hoping to get white help, doesn't help. It saps the enthusiasm of the followers. You've got to have a crisis."

Making his own crisis carefully, Dr. King conducted clinics in non-violent techniques in Birmingham and said he would lead mass demonstrations in Birmingham until "Pharoah lets God's people go." The demonstrations, involving thousands of Negroes, began in April, 1963.

The violence that erupted was some of the ugliest in modern times. Around the world, newspapers printed pictures of the mass arrests, of Police Commissioner "Bull" Connor's police dogs and water hoses and Dr. King became heroic in the eyes of millions of people.

Dr. King's turn-the-other-cheek attitude toward segregationists was best expressed at the funeral for four Negro children killed in the bombing of a Birmingham church—a tragedy that grew out of the original demonstrations and which fomented more.

"Forgive our white brothers," he said.

## *King Arrested 15 Times As a Civil Rights Leader*

According to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's count, he has been arrested 15 times as a civil rights leader. Here is a partial record available from newspaper reports. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference keeps no record of Dr. King's arrests.

January, 1956—On a speeding charge, in Montgomery, Ala., where he was leading a boycott against segregated buses.

February, 1956—After indictment, along with 89 others, under Alabama's anti-boycott law.

Sept. 3, 1958—On a loitering charge in Montgomery, Ala., while waiting to attend a trial in City Hall.

Feb. 17, 1960—On indictment for perjury brought in by Alabama jury. He was accused of lying on income-tax returns. Three months later, he was acquitted by a white jury.

Oct. 19, 1960—In Atlanta, Ga., after leading a mass sit-in at downtown lunch counters. He received a four-month sentence, which led to the famous telephone call from John F. Kennedy, then a Presidential candidate, to Mrs. King. Dr. King was released from jail on Oct. 27.

Dec. 16, 1961—In Albany, Ga., after leading a protest march downtown.

July 27, 1962—Again in Albany, Ga., while holding a sidewalk prayer vigil.

April 12, 1963—For leading protest march in Birmingham, Ala. While Dr. King was imprisoned, he wrote the moving "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" that has been widely reprinted.

June 11, 1964—While attempting to get served at a segregated motel in St. Augustine, Fla.





**NOBEL CAUSE:** Mrs. Martin Luther King and her children rejoiced around the piano yesterday after receiving word that Dr. King had won the Nobel Peace Prize. With Mrs. King are, from left, Yolanda Denise, 8; Bernice Albertine, 18 months; Dexter Scott, 3; and Martin Luther III, 6. Mrs. King said her husband's new honor

"gives me great courage and a greater determination to stand by him in his future efforts." The prize will be awarded at the University of Oslo on Dec. 10. Wires congratulating Dr. King had been received last night from Robert F. Kennedy, Roy Wilkins and Sen. Pierre Salinger.

United Press International

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OCT 15 1964

# Dr. King's Selection Draws Varying Comment in Nation

From News Dispatches

ATLANTA, Oct. 14.—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was announced as winner of the Nobel Peace Prize today, is a man who has preached both peace and protest.

Perhaps more than any other man the 35-year-old Baptist minister has been responsible for the massive, nonviolent protests against racial discrimination in America.

Yet through it all he has spoken time after time for nonviolence, for peaceful demonstrations. He has refused to be deterred by four apparent attempts on his life.

"Nonviolent protest is the most effective weapon of an oppressed people," he has said.

Dr. King took up his crusade at 26 from the pulpit of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at Montgomery, Ala., in 1955. Negroes in Montgomery boycotted segregated city buses for 381 days, touching off bombings of their churches, street attacks by white men and mob violence. A court ruling finally desegregated the buses.

## Jailed in South

In 1960 Dr. King created the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which he still heads.

Dr. King was jailed many times in connection with racial demonstrations in the South.

Some Southern officials reacted angrily to the selection of Dr. King as the Nobel Peace Prize winner, but he won warm praise in other quarters.

Eugene (Bull) Connor, who was Police Commissioner of Birmingham, Ala., at the time of Dr. King's massive desegregation drive in the steel city in 1963, said "they're scraping the bottom of the barrel."

Police Chief Virgil Stuart of St. Augustine, Fla., declared:

congratulations came from Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP in New York.

"All Americans, irrespective of race, religion or region of residence, can justly take pride in the international recognition" accorded Dr. King, Wilkins said in a telegram.

## "Troubles and Violence"

"I think with all the troubles for which he was responsible in several states in this Union, that it strikes a note of sadness in the hearts of many peace-loving people," said Mississippi Gov. Paul B. Johnson at the Southern Governors Conference in San Antonio, Tex.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama refused comment, as did many other Southern officials.

United Nations Under Secretary Ralph Bunche, the first Negro to win the Prize, hailed Dr. King's selection as "international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for equality."

In St. Louis, the Right Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Church, said at the 61st General Convention of the Episcopal Church:

"I am delighted to hear the news about Dr. King. He is one of the great men of our times... I salute my brother in Christ."

"I consider it one of the biggest jokes of the year. How can you win the Peace Prize when you stir up all the trouble he did down here?"

Former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, now a Democratic candidate for the Senate in New York State, sent Dr. King a message saying the honor was "richly deserved." He said Dr. King had symbolized "the struggle of mankind for justice and equality through nonviolent means" in his life and work.

Another message of warm

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## Dr. King's Prize

A NOBEL PEACE PRIZE for Dr. Martin Luther King? The award, announced yesterday in Oslo, Norway, must have startled many Americans, both friends and enemies of this Negro clergyman.

A prize for eloquent oratory, certainly! Or for able leadership in cause of equal rights! But peace?

Dr. King first came to national attention in 1955 when he led the Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala. Since that time he has been agent and spokesman for discontent. Tho it was not of his making, strife and violence have followed his preaching.

But peace is a relative term. Dr. King achieved prominence at a time of seething unrest among Negro citizens at generations of unjust, second-class treatment. It was a situation which threatened church burning for church burning, beating for beating, lynching for lynching.

But Dr. King, an admirer of India's Gandhi, counseled nonviolence all thru the South and the Southern Negroes mainly listened. The violence, in vast

majority, has been committed against them — not by them — when they have attempted to demonstrate peacefully or to assert the rights which the law and the courts hold to be their due.

Dr. King has operated in obvious confidence as to the innate goodness of his fellow citizens — both white and black — in their desire to remedy injustice once it is brought forcibly to their attention. His confidence is being justified in steady, if slow, adjustment thru most of the Southland to the new ways which changing times demand.

Dr. King's influence has backed evolution, instead of revolution, patient dealing with human contrariness instead of abrupt, direct action. In his record, there may be a lesson for world statesmen dealing with even more violent prejudices and ambitions for power. That, we judge, is the reason the committee of the Norwegian Parliament awarded him the prize. As we recover from our original surprise and think it over, we conclude it is well deserved.

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# Dr. Martin Luther King Wins Nobel Peace Prize

From News Dispatches

OSLO, Oct. 14—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize today for his leadership of the U.S. civil rights movement. At 35, he is one of the youngest to win the prize.

King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, became the 12th American and the third Negro to win the award, which this year is worth \$54,600.

(From St. Joseph's Hospital in Atlanta, where he was undergoing a medical examination, King said that "every penny of this money will go to the civil rights movement and to further the work in the philosophy of non-violence.

"I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally," he added, "but a

Dr. King's selection draws mixed reaction in Nation. Page A17.

tribute to the discipline, wise restraint and majestic courage of the millions of gailant Negro and white persons of good will who have followed a non-violent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this Nation of ours.")

The award was announced here by the Oslo Nobel Institute, which said King had "consistently asserted the principle of non-violence." The American clergyman was nominated last January by eight Swedish Parliament members.

His selection was no surprise in Oslo. Newspapers here and elsewhere in Europe, along with many European parliamentarians, had been active supporters of his candidacy.

The peace prize will be awarded Dec. 10 at Oslo University in the presense of Norwegian King Olaf V. Other Nobel winners—for physics, chemistry, medicine and psychology and literature—will be chosen by the Nobel committee. See NOBEL, A23, Col. 1

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NOBEL—From Page A1

## Dr. Martin Luther King Chosen for Nobel Prize

mittee in Stockholm and will be announced later.

The prizes are awarded annually under the terms of the will of the late dynamite magnate Alfred Nobel.

The only other Negroes to win the award were South African civil rights leader Chief Albert Luthuli and American

Ralph Bunche, now an under secretary of the United Nations.

Bunche, who won the award in 1950 for negotiating armistice agreements that ended the 1948-49 fighting between Israel and its Arab neighbors, wired congratulations to King.

Bunche called the award "a striking international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for full equality in the American society and for full participation in the mainstream of American life. It is, moreover, a splendid and fully merited tribute to you personally for your courage in the devotion to that cause and struggle."

King, who has been jailed several times for his role in non-violent demonstrations by Negroes throughout the South, is co-pastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

Other American winners of the peace prize include Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Gen. George C. Marshall and more recently scientist Linus Pauling.

As is customary, the Nobel Committee did not name any other candidates nor disclose the reasons for the choice. The latter will be done at the awards ceremony.

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## Martin King Is Nobel Peace Prize Winner

OSLO (AP)—The 1964 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded today to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Georgia-born Negro who became a civil rights crusader in the United States.

"Martin Luther King has consistently asserted the principle of nonviolence," the Oslo Nobel Institute said in its statement announcing the award.

King, son of an Atlanta Baptist minister and himself an ordained minister, provided his fellow Negroes with a powerful new weapon molded and shaped from the teachings of India's Gandhi in the fight for Negro civil rights.

KING'S AWARD, rumored for months, will amount to 273,000 Swedish kroner, (\$53,123) this year. The cash prize and the Nobel gold medal and diploma will be handed to King at ceremonies in Oslo Dec. 10.

King was born in Atlanta, Ga., in 1929 and went to the Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. He took his doctor's degree in theology at Boston University and served later as a Baptist minister.

In 1955 he was chosen to lead the Negro boycott of the

Montgomery, Ala., city buses. Since then he has served as a leader in the Negro fight for civil rights, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

KING WAS made "Man of the Year" by the American news magazine, Time, in 1963 and this year he was made an honorary doctor at Yale University and was awarded the John F. Kennedy prize by the Catholic Council for Cooperation Between the Races in Chicago.

He was the 12th American to be awarded the peace prize. In addition, the American Friends Service Committee got it once.

The prize was awarded by the Nobel committee of the Norwegian storting (parliament).

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Mr. J. Asch  
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Mr. L. Asch  
Mr. M. Asch  
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Page 1

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(KING)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING SAID TODAY HIS SELECTION AS A NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER WAS A TRIBUTE TO ALL WHO MARCHED WITH HIM IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRUSADE.

"EVERY PENNY OF THIS (\$54,600 PRIZE) MONEY WILL GO TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND TO FURTHER THE WORK IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF NON VIOLENCE," KING SAID.

"I DO NOT CONSIDER THIS MERELY AN HONOR TO ME PERSONALLY, BUT A TRIBUTE TO THE DISCIPLINE, WISE RESTRAINT AND MAJESTIC COURAGE OF THE MILLIONS OF GALLANT NEGRO AND WHITE PERSONS OF GOOD WILL WHO HAVE FOLLOWED A NON-VIOLENT COURSE IN SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A REIGN OF JUSTICE AND A RULE OF LOVE ACROSS THIS NATION OF OURS," HE DECLARED.

THE INTEGRATION LEADER MADE HIS COMMENTS AT A NEWS CONFERENCE AT ST. JOSEPH'S INFIRMARY, WHERE HE IS UNDERGOING A PHYSICAL CHECKUP. HIS WIFE SAID HE ENTERED THE CLINIC YESTERDAY "COMPLETELY EXHAUSTED," AND WILL REMAIN THERE THREE DAYS IF NO COMPLICATIONS DEVELOP.

THE NEGRO LEADER, WHOSE START TO WORLD FAME BEGAN IN HIS LEADERSHIP OF A BUS BOYCOTT IN MONTGOMERY, ALA., IN 1956 TOLD REPORTERS THAT AFTER HE LEAVES THE HOSPITAL HE WILL CONCENTRATE ON GETTING AMERICAN NEGROES TO THE POLLS NOV. 3.

HE SAID THAT FOLLOWING THE ELECTION HIS CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGN WILL TURN ONCE MORE TO TESTING COMPLIANCE WITH THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL--MAINLY IN ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI--AND EFFORTS ALSO WILL TURN TO GETTING BETTER JOBS FOR NEGROES AND BROADENING AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM.

"I PLAN TO CALL A NATIONWIDE CONFERENCE ON SELECTIVE BUYING (ECONOMIC BOYCOTT) NEXT YEAR TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE BUYING POWER OF NEGROES," KING SAID.

HE SAID THAT WHILE HE DOES NOT PLAN TO FORMALLY ENDORSE THE CANDIDACY OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON HE IS URGING NEGROES TO GO TO THE POLLS AND VOTE AGAINST SEN. GOLDWATER.

KING PREDICTED "ONE OF THE GREATEST LANDSLIDE VICTORIES" IN HISTORY FOR JOHNSON.

HE SAID HIS WIFE, WHO WAS BESIDE HIM AT HIS HOSPITAL NEWS CONFERENCE, PROBABLY WILL GO WITH HIM TO OSLO, NORWAY TO RECEIVE THE NOBEL PRIZE DEC. 10.

MRS. KING, WHO HAS STAYED AT HOME WITH THEIR FOUR CHILDREN WHILE HER HUSBAND HAS BEEN ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS FRONT, INCLUDING 15 TRIPS TO JAIL, SAID THE AWARD TO HER HUSBAND "GIVES ME GREAT COURAGE AND A GREATER DETERMINATION TO STAND WITH HIM IN HIS FUTURE EFFORTS."

10/14--N515PED

69 OCT 20 1964

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

48



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Prize Ups Courage, Dr. King Says Here

By WALTER RUGABER

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said in Atlanta Wednesday that the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize "will give me new courage and determination to carry on in this fight to overcome the evils and injustice in this society."

The 35-year-old Baptist minister and Negro integration leader made the statement at a press conference with his wife hours after the Nobel award was announced in Oslo, Norway.

"I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally," Dr. King said, "but a tribute to the discipline, wise restraint, and majestic courage of the millions of gallant Negro and white persons of good will who have followed a nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours."

"It is also gratifying to know

that the nations of the world recognize the civil rights movement in this country as so significant a moral force as to merit such recognition."

DR. KING—catapulted to national attention during the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 and arrested 15 times since then on such racial battlegrounds as Atlanta, Albany and Birmingham—made the statement at St. Joseph's Infirmary here.

He entered the hospital for a general physical checkup and said he expects to remain there for three or four more days. He was alone in a sixth floor room when his wife, Coretta, telephoned news of the Nobel honor.

The Atlanta-born civil rights leader—dressed in a blue suit, white shirt, and dark tie—met

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1  
The Atlanta Journal,  
Atlanta, Georgia

Date: 10/14/64  
Edition: Final  
Author: WALTER RUGABER  
Editor: JACK SPALDING  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

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or  
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Submitting Office: Atlanta  
☐ Being Investigated

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newsmen in a first floor auditorium at the hospital.

He said he looks forward to "a day in the not too distant future when we will be able to solve this problem" of racial discrimination. He said the prize added an international dimension to the struggle.

DR. KING, president of the Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said his most immediate task will be to "turn out a larger percentage of registered Negro voters than ever before" on election day.

Dr. King conceded that his opposition to Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona might constitute an "indirect endorsement" of President Johnson.

He said that upon his release from the hospital he will carry his get-out-the-vote drive to some 15 Northern cities.

Then, he said, he will concentrate on implementation of the 1964 civil rights act in such states as Alabama and Mississippi and will call a nationwide conference on "selective buying" in an effort to improve job opportunities for Negroes.

Mrs. King said that at first her husband was hardly able to believe he had won the coveted international award. "Well, really!" he said.

"How do you know?" Mrs. King quoted her husband as asking.

SHE TOLD reporters her husband knew he was under consideration for the prize but that "we didn't feel really that he

would get it. I actually didn't realize they would consider his efforts as being important enough."

Mrs. King said her husband was exhausted from his recent trip to Europe and his work in connection with the recently held national convention of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"For many years we have had to contend with the other side," Mrs. King said. "For something like this to happen makes it all worth while. Yet we are still humble in receiving this. It will only serve for us to continue our efforts."

ATLANTA Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. said Dr. King is "fully deserving of the honor and I extend the city's congratulations." The mayor declared:

"He has displayed remarkable leadership at both a national and international level to the 20 million American Negro citizens and has been instrumental in bringing full American citizenship to them."

DR. HARRY RICHARDSON, president of the Interdenominational Theological Center, said he considered the Nobel award something Dr. King has earned. The theologian also said:

"I receive (the news) with great satisfaction and joy. I think it is a fitting tribute to a man who has played perhaps the greatest part in promoting human peace in our time."

Atlanta Vice Mayor Sam Massell Jr. said he was "very excited that an Atlantan should be honored. I think his achievements are well known. He's done much for his people as

well as for human dignity at large."

Jesse Hill Jr., a young Atlanta insurance executive and longtime friend of Dr. King's, said he was "overwhelmed and very happy that he has received this honor."

MAINLY, Mr. Hill said, "I hope that his home town folks—both Negro and white—will soon after the election get together and give him a fitting honor in his own home town."

Mr. Hill said he had already discussed the possibility with a number of clergymen and that he hoped the local honor would include a proclamation by city officials and a testimonial dinner.

A. T. WALDEN, a pro hoc municipal court judge and longtime Negro leader, said he felt the Nobel Prize "is an eminently deserved award, and I am happy to see that recognition come (to Dr. King)."

T. M. Alexander Sr., a real estate and insurance man, said "we're happy for him (Dr. King) because he has made a tremendous amount of personal sacrifice and has accomplished a great deal in focusing attention on the inequities felt by minorities around the world."

IN NEW YORK, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent "warm" congratulations Wednesday to King.

"Your contribution in sharpening the sense of urgency in pursuit of racial peace fully merits the honor bestowed upon you," Wilkins said in a telegram. "All Americans irrespective of race, religion or region

of residence, can justly take pride in the international recognition accorded your dedicated and fruitful efforts to achieve racial harmony . . . "

ANOTHER message was sent to King by former attorney general Robert F. Kennedy, Democratic candidate for the Senate in New York. He said the honor was "richly deserved." He said King had symbolized "the struggle of mankind for justice and

equality through nonviolent means" in his life and work.

RALPH BUNCHE, first U.S. Negro to win the Nobel Peace Prize, hailed Dr. King's selection.

The award, Bunche said, is "international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for full equality in the American society and for participation in the mainstream of American life."

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*Summary of [redacted] b7C*

UPI-27

(RELEASE AT 1:30 P.M. EDT)

(NOBEL)

OSLO--AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING TODAY WON THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR 1964.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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# King to Spend Prize<sup>46</sup> On Rights Movement

ATLANTA, Oct. 14 (AP)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. received word today that he has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and immediately called it a tribute to millions of persons of good will.

Dr. King told a news conference at St. Joseph's Hospital, where he was undergoing a routine physical checkup:

"I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally, but a tribute to the discipline, wise restraint and majestic courage of the millions of gallant Negroes and white persons of good will who have followed a nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours."

And, Dr. King said, "this is an extremely moving moment in my life."

He said he intends to spend every dollar of the prize money on the civil rights movement.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which King is president, will get the majority of the money, he said.

He said the award brings with it "a demand for deepening one's commitment of nonviolence as a philosophy of life . . ."

"It is also gratifying to know that the nations of the world recognize the civil rights movement in this country as so significant a moral force as to merit such recognition."

Dr. King is a man who has preached peace-but-protest.

Perhaps more than any other man the 35-year-old Baptist minister has been responsible for the massive, nonviolent protests against racial discrimination in America.

Yet through it all he has spoken time after time for nonviolence, for peaceful demonstrations.

"Nonviolent protest is the most effective weapon of an

oppressed people," he has said.

Many times he has kept crowds of Negro demonstrators from rioting simply by talking to them.

He started his civil rights crusade from the pulpit of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at Montgomery, Ala., in 1955. Negroes in Montgomery boycotted segregated city buses for 381 days, touching off bombings of their churches, street attacks by white men and mob violence. A bomb, which did not explode, was thrown on Dr. King's front porch.

A court ruling finally desegregated the buses.

Dr. King was not so fortunate in a Harlem department store in 1958. A Negro woman stabbed him with a fingernail file.

But Dr. King recovered and returned to his work. He returned to Atlanta in 1960 and created the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which he still heads.

Dr. King has been jailed many times in connection with racial strife, and as the racial demonstrations spread from city to city he became more and more a national figure.

Even after Dr. King's cause continued to gain support, his zeal was undiminished.

"I will not be satisfied until segregation is dead in America," he said.

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UPI-48 (RELEASE AT 1:30 P.M. EDT)

(KING)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., "THOROUGHLY EXHAUSTED" AND IN NEED OF A COMPLETE PHYSICAL CHECKUP, WAS IN A HOSPITAL BED TODAY WHEN HE LEARNED THAT HE HAD WON THE 1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

MRS. KING, A FORMER CONCERT SINGER, SAID HER HUSBAND SAID "WELL, REALLY," WHEN SHE CALLED HIM TO TELL HIM OF THE HONOR.

SHE SAID HE WAS ASLEEP WHEN SHE CALLED HIM AT ST. JOSEPH INFIRMARY IN ATLANTA. KING CHECKED INTO THE INFIRMARY YESTERDAY, SHE SAID, AND WAS "THOROUGHLY EXHAUSTED."

MRS. KING SAID HER HUSBAND COULD NOT QUITE BELIEVE HE HAD WON THE PRIZE.

"HOW DO YOU KNOW?" SHE SAID HE ASKED.

MRS. KING SAID HER HUSBAND WAS EXHAUSTED FROM A HEAVY SCHEDULE OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS, INCLUDING A TRIP TO EUROPE, AND FROM WORK HE PUT IN ON THE RECENT NATIONAL CONVENTION OF HIS SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE HELD AT SAVANNAH, GA.

"HE NEEDS A COMPLETE PHYSICAL CHECKUP," SHE SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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UPI-239

(PRIZE-REACTION)

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.--THE BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD SAID IN ITS THURSDAY MORNING EDITIONS THAT DESPITE THE SELECTION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING FOR THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE "THE PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH KNOW THAT VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT FOLLOW IN HIS TRAIL."

IN AN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "MAN OF PEACE?" THE SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER SAID.

"THERE IS IRONY, DEEP IRONY FOR MUCH OF THE SOUTH IN THE SELECTION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING TO RECEIVE THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

"NO MATTER WHAT THEY THINK OF KING IN EUROPE, WHERE THE SELECTION WAS ANNOUNCED, THE PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH KNOW THAT VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT FOLLOW IN HIS TRAIL.

"PEOPLE OF BIRMINGHAM KNOW FROM 1963. PEOPLE OF ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., KNOW FROM 1964.

"DESPITE THE PROTESTATIONS OF 'NON-VIOLENCE' HE AND HIS ORGANIZATION ALWAYS SEEM TO LEAD TO VIOLENCE.

"DURING THE PRESENT PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST PEACE HAS REIGNED ON THE RACIAL FRONT. BUT AFTER NOVEMBER...?"

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE



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UPI-221

(KING)

ATLANTA--SELECTION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. FOR THE 1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE TODAY SPURRED TALK OF HOLDING AN INTEGRATED TESTIMONIAL DINNER FOR THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER.

ATLANTANS REACTED WITH EXCITEMENT TO THE AWARD, AND MAYOR IVAN ALLEN JR. SAID KING WAS "FULLY DESERVING OF THE HONOR AND I EXTEND THE CITY'S CONGRATULATIONS."

JESSE HILL JR., A YOUNG INSURANCE EXECUTIVE AND LONGTIME FRIEND OF KING'S, SAID HE HOPED BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE ATLANTANS WOULD "GET TOGETHER AND GIVE HIM A FITTING HONOR IN HIS OWN HOME TOWN."

HILL SAID HE HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY WITH A NUMBER OF CLERGYMEN AND HE HOPED THE HONOR WOULD INCLUDE A PROCLAMATION BY CITY OFFICIALS AND A TESTIMONIAL DINNER.

ALLEN SAID KING "HAS DISPLAYED REMARKABLE LEADERSHIP AT BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVEL TO THE 20 MILLION AMERICAN NEGRO CITIZENS AND HAS BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING FULL AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP TO THEM."

DR. HARRY RICHARDSON, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, SAID THE AWARD "IS A FITTING TRIBUTE TO A MAN WHO HAS PLAYED PERHAPS THE GREATEST PART IN PROMOTING HUMAN PEACE IN OUR TIME."

VICE MAYOR SAM MASSELL JR. SAID KING "HAS DONE MUCH FOR HIS PEOPLE AS WELL AS FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AT LARGE."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

(RELEASE AT 1:30 P.M. EDT)

(NOPEL)

OSLO--AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. WON THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR 1964.

10/14--GE1003A

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10/14/64

(RELEASE AT 1:30 P.M. EDT)

(NOPEL)

OSLO--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., AMERICAN NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER, WON THE 1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE TODAY. KING, THE LEADER OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), BECAME THE 14TH AMERICAN AND THE THIRD NEGRO TO WIN THE PRIZE. KING'S CANDIDACY WAS SPONSORED BY POLITICAL FIGURES IN SWEDEN AND THE UNITED STATES AND BY MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENTS OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

A LEADING RECOMMENDATION CAME FROM EIGHT SWEDISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT. THEY REPRESENTED ALL THE PARLIAMENTS. THE NOBEL PRIZE WINNER IS APPOINTED BY THE NORWEGIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. IT IS MADE FROM A SECRET LIST OF NOMINEES. OTHER NAMES REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN ON THIS YEAR'S LIST WERE FORMER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER LORD AVON (SIR ANTHONY EDEN), PRESIDENT KONRAD ADENAUER OF WEST GERMANY, AND CHANCELLOR KONRAD ADENAUER.

AT 35, KING ALSO WAS ONE OF THE YOUNGEST MEN EVER TO WIN THE PRIZE. THE FIRST AMERICAN TO WIN THE PRIZE WAS DEWEY ALDRIDGE, AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN CAMPAIGNER, LYNUS PAULING, A NUCLEAR PHYSICIST AND ANTI-NUCLEAR CAMPAIGNER, WON THE 1962 PRIZE LAST YEAR AFTER IT HAD BEEN DEFERRED FOR A YEAR. OTHER AMERICAN WINNERS INCLUDED PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON, SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL HULL AND U.N. UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL RALPH BUNCHE, FIRST NEGRO TO BE AWARDED THE PRIZE.

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UPI-189

(REACTION-KING)

ST. LOUIS, MO.--THE RT. REV. ARTHUR LICHTENBERGER, PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, TODAY SALUTED THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING AS "ONE OF THE GREAT MEN OF OUR TIMES." HIS STATEMENT CAME AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT KING WAS AWARDED THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

REV. LICHTENBERGER SAID, "I AM DELIGHTED TO HEAR THE NEWS ABOUT DR. KING. HIS DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM FOR ALL MEN, AND HIS INSISTENCE ON THE USE OF NON-VIOLENT TACTICS IN THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE THESE RIGHTS, INSPIRES AND GIVES HOPE TO COUNTLESS MILLIONS AROUND THE WORLD. I SALUTE MY BROTHER IN CHRIST."

KING SPOKE AT THE 61ST GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH MONDAY.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

# Dr. King a Preacher Of Peace-But-Protest

ATLANTA (AP)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize today, is a man who has preached peace-but-protest.

Perhaps more than any other man the 35-year-old Baptist minister has been responsible for the massive, nonviolent protests against racial discrimination in America.

Yet through it all he has spoken time after time for non-violence, for peaceful demonstrations.

"Nonviolent protest is the most effective weapon of an oppressed people," he has said.

Many times he has kept crowds of Negro demonstrators from rioting simply by talking to them.

He has climbed on automobiles and told the crowds threatening to get out of control:

"No, no. We must remain nonviolent."

The crowds have listened, and then quietly gone on their way. Sometimes there was dissension, but always respect for Dr. King.

Dr. King took up his crusade at 26. His tactics filled the streets with Negro marchers in many cities. His idea was assailed bitterly by white segregationists and often questioned by moderates.

But among his greatest critics were those advocating black supremacy. Nevertheless, he wielded much influence over the bulk of the Negro people.

He started his civil rights crusade from the pulpit of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at Montgomery, Ala., in 1955. Negroes in Montgomery boycotted segregated city buses for 381 days, touching off bombings of their churches, street attacks by white men and mob violence. A bomb, which did not explode, was thrown on Dr. King's front porch.

A court ruling finally desegregated the buses.

Dr. King was not so fortunate in a Harlem department store in 1958. A Negro woman stabbed him with a fingernail file.

But Dr. King recovered and returned to his work. He returned to Atlanta in 1960 and created the Southern Christian

Leadership Conference which he still heads.

Dr. King was jailed five times in connection with racial strife in Alabama before he returned to Atlanta.

He was jailed in Georgia and the late John F. Kennedy, campaigning for the presidency which he later won, telephoned Mrs. King. Kennedy's brother, Robert F. Kennedy, telephoned the judge to inquire about bond. Dr. King was released.

Dr. King returned to the battle for racial equality in Albany, Ga., where he again went to jail with hundreds of Negroes.

He also went to jail in Birmingham in April 1963 with more than 2,000 others.

As the racial demonstrations spread from city to city, Dr. King became even better known.

He addressed a crowd of more than 200,000 who marched on Washington in August 1963 to support congressional action on a civil rights bill.

Even after Dr. King's cause continued to gain support, his zeal was undiminished.

"I will not be satisfied until segregation is dead in America," he said.

And day after day he was traveling, speaking, working for his cause. Only this week he addressed the Protestant Episcopal Convention in St. Louis.

But when the Nobel Prize was announced today, he had paused briefly. He was in St. Joseph's Hospital here for a checkup.

"For something like this to happen makes it all worthwhile," Mrs. King said today after she had heard the news.

"For many years we had to contend with the other side," she said. "We are still humble in receiving this. It will only serve for us to continue our efforts."

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UPI-120

(KING)

ATLANTA--MR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SAID TODAY HIS RECEIPT OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE CAME AS "AN EXTREMELY MOVING MOMENT" IN HIS LIFE AND WOULD GIVE HIM COURAGE AND DETERMINATION IN CONTINUING THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE.

KING TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE ST. JOSEPH'S INFIRMARY, WHERE HE IS HOSPITALIZED FOR A PHYSICAL CHECKUP, THAT MOST OF THE \$54,600 THAT GOES WITH THE PRIZE WILL GO TO HELP FINANCE THE CIVIL RIGHTS "NON-VIOLENT" MOVEMENT.

HE SAID THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, HE FOUNDED, WOULD GET MOST OF THE MONEY.

KING SENT WORD EARLIER FROM HIS HOSPITAL ROOM THAT HE WAS "DEEPLY MOVED AND GRATIFIED AND HONORED" OVER BEING SELECTED FOR THE PRIZE.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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## Hub Rights, Church Heads Hail Selection Of King

Local civil rights and church leaders today hailed the selection of Dr. Martin Luther King as Nobel Peace Prize winner as "well-deserving."

Among the salutes to the Negro integration leader:

Cardinal Cushing:

"All friends of liberty and peace will rejoice in the great honor that has come to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Americans especially will be proud that this patient and persuasive crusader for human dignity has received international recognition for his years of labor, suffering and sacrifice."

"The occasion should prompt us to rededicate ourselves with all our energies in the pursuit of the ideals to which Dr. King has given his life. May the God of justice and love watch over him, guide him according to the divine will, and bring his work to a successful conclusion."

Methodist Bishop James K. Mathews:

"The announcement of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is a tribute to every Negro and an honor to every American."

Most of all it is the well-deserved recognition of a great man who has given outstanding leadership in the cause of equality and dignity for every person. And he has done this by means of truth and non-violence."

"We of this city should feel especially proud, for as a scholar of Boston University he is one of us. My hope is that this honor will serve to hasten the day when the goals for which Dr. King strives will have been attained for every American."

Thomas Atkins, executive secretary of the Boston branch, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People:

"I think that it is very significant that a civil rights leader is recognized by a world body. Ralph Bunche, undersecretary

for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations, was the only other American Negro to win the award. But he was not in the civil rights field."

"Dr. King has made widely recognized contributions in the whole area of civil and human rights. NAACP is very proud of him."

Canon James Breeden, chairman of CAPE (Committee Against Political Extremism):

"I am very deeply gratified that Dr. King's leadership of non-violence for human rights has been so honored."

"The award comes at a time when America is in a great struggle between the forces Dr. King represents and those symbolized by Sen. Barry Goldwater."

Dr. Albert J. Penner, president of the Massachusetts Congregational Christian Conference:

"The recognition of Rev. Martin Luther King as the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize is of extraordinary interest and significance. Dr. King, the outstanding leader in our movement for justice in race relations, has demonstrated the power of non-violent resistance. He has shown how relevant an ancient Christian insight is to a major contemporary problem. All America has reason to be grateful for the leadership he has been giving and should applaud the world recognition he has received."

Dr. Paul L. Sturges, executive secretary of the Massachusetts Baptist Convention:

"We are thrilled at this recognition of one of our foremost American Baptist ministers. We feel he deserves it."

"He is one of our prophetic voices, challenging not only the church to be the church, but our general public to reach for the ideals which are very basic for any just and durable peace."

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
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— BOSTON HERALD  
Boston, Mass.  
36 BOSTON TRAVELER  
Boston, Mass.  
— CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR  
Boston, Mass.  
— RECORD AMERICAN  
Boston, Mass.

Date: 10/14/64  
Edition: Five Star Final  
Author:  
Editor: Homer Jenks  
Title: DR. MARTIN LUTHER  
KING

Character:  
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Classification: 100-  
Submitting Office: Boston  
☐ Being Investigated

84 OCT 23 1964





**INTEGRATIONIST** leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Pope Paul VI pose during Papal audience last month. (AP Photo)



**ARRESTED** on loitering charge, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., is held by police at police headquarters in Montgomery, Ala. Incident occurred in September, 1958. (AP Photo).

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
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Mr. Trotter  
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Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy



AP Wirephoto  
**MARTIN LUTHER KING**

# **Negro Rights Leader Wins Nobel Prize**

OSLO, Oct. 14—(AP)—The 1964 Nobel peace prize was awarded today to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Georgia-born Negro who became a civil rights crusader in the United States.

"Martin Luther King has consistently asserted the principle of nonviolence," the Oslo Nobel Institute said in its statement announcing the award.

King, son of an Atlanta Baptist minister and himself an ordained minister, provided his fellow Negroes with a powerful, new weapon molded and shaped from the teachings of India's Gandhi in the fight for Negro civil rights.

King's award, rumored for months, will amount to 273,000

See DB, KING, Page 6

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ECHING GREEN LEADER  
RICHMOND, VA.

Date: 10/14/64

Edition: Blue Streak

Author:

Editor: J. J. Kilpatrick

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Submitting Office: Richmond

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64 OCT 23 1964

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# King Wins Nobel Peace Prize

Continued From First Page

1 Kroner, (\$53,123) this the cash prize and the gold medal and diploma handed to King at ceremony in Oslo December 10.

King was born in Atlanta, Ga. in 1929 and went to the Central Theological Seminary, York, Pa. He took his doctor's degree in theology at Boston University and served later as Baptist minister.

In 1955 he was chosen to lead the Negro boycott of the Montgomery, Ala., city buses. Since then he has served as a leader in the Negro fight for civil rights, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

## MAN OF THE YEAR

King was made "man of the year" by the American news magazine, Time, in 1963 and this year he was made an honorary doctor at Yale University and was awarded the John F. Kennedy prize by the Catholic Council for Co-operation Between the Races in Chicago.

He was the 12th American to be awarded the peace prize. In addition, the American Friends Service Committee got it once.

The prize was awarded by the Noble committee of the Norwegian Storting (parliament).

Chairman of the committee is Director Gunnar Jahn. Vice Chairman is Dean G. Natvig-Pedersen. Others are Socialist member of Parliament Mrs. Aase Wind Linares, Socialist president of the Storting Nils Langhelle, and conservative floor leader and governor of the province of Akershus, John Lunde.

The Swedish inventor of dynamite, Dr. Alfred Nobel, stated in his will in 1895 that his fortune should go to the establishment of prizes to be awarded in chemistry, physics, medicine and physiology, literature and for peace.

The peace prize is awarded by the Norwegian parliament. The other four prizes are awarded in Sweden.

King — the third Negro to be awarded the peace prize — will receive the award from Gunnar Jahn in a solemn ceremony in the University of Oslo on the anniversary of Nobel's death.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs, won the coveted prize in 1950. South African leader Albert Luthuli won the prize in 1960.

The Nobel committee, never announces who else has been proposed for the prize. Neither does it, at the time of announcing the award, give the full reasons for the choice. That will be done by Jahn when he holds the Nobel speech in December.

Nobel decided that the peace prize should be awarded to "the one, who has worked most or best for furthering the brotherhood between peoples and for abolishment or reduction of the standing armies, and for es-

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# Nobel Peace Prize Given To Martin Luther King

OSLO (AP)—The 1964 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded today to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Georgia-born Negro who became a civil rights crusader in the United States.

"Martin Luther King has consistently asserted the principle of nonviolence," the Oslo Nobel Institute said in its statement announcing the award.

Dr. King, son of an Atlanta Baptist minister and himself an ordained minister, provided his fellow Negroes with a powerful, new weapon molded and shaped from the teachings of India's Gandhi in the fight for Negro civil rights.

Dr. King's award, rumored for months, will amount to 273,000 Swedish kroner, (\$53,123) this year. The cash prize and the Nobel gold medal and diploma will be handed to Dr. King at ceremonies in Oslo Dec. 10.

## Born in Atlanta

Dr. King was born in Atlanta, Ga. in 1929 and went to the Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. He took his doctor's degree in theology at Boston University and served later as a Baptist minister.

In 1955 he was chosen to lead the Negro boycott of the Montgomery, Ala., city buses. Since then he has served as a leader in the Negro fight for civil rights, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Dr. King was made "Man of the Year" by the American news magazine, Time, in 1963, and this year he was made an honorary doctor at Yale University and was awarded the John F. Kennedy Prize by the Catholic Council for Cooperation Between the Races in Chicago.

He was the 12th American to be awarded the peace prize. In addition, the American Friends Service committee got it once.

The prize was awarded by the Nobel committee of the Norwegian Storting (parliament).

Chairman of the committee is director Gunnar Jahn. Vice chairman is Dean G. Natvig-Pedersen. Others are socialist members of parliament Mrs. Aase Wind Linaes, socialist president of the Storting Nils Langhelle, and conservative floor leader and governor of the province of Akershus, John Lyng.

## Will Set Up Awards

The Swedish inventor of dynamite, Dr. Alfred Nobel stated in his will in 1895 that his for-

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**MARTIN LUTHER KING**

—Harris & Ewing

tune should go to the establishment of prizes to be awarded in chemistry, physics, medicine and physiology, literature and for peace.

The peace prize is awarded by the Norwegian parliament. The other four prizes are awarded in Sweden.

Dr. King—the third Negro to be awarded the peace prize—will receive the award from

Gunnar Jahn in a solemn ceremony in the University of Oslo on Dec. 10, on the anniversary of Nobel's death.

Dr. Ralph Bunche of the United States, United Nations undersecretary for special political affairs, was the first Negro to get the peace prize. He won it in 1950. South African leader Albert Luthuli won it in 1960.

The Nobel Committee, never announces who else has been proposed for the prize. Neither does it, at the time of announcing the award, give the full reasons for the choice. That will be done by Jahn when he makes the Nobel speech in December.

Nobel decided that the peace prize should be awarded to "the one, who has worked most or best for furthering the brotherhood between peoples and for abolishment or reduction of the standing armies, and for establishment and furtherance of peace congresses."

The members of the five-man committee are elected by the Storting for six-year periods—three and then two of the members being elected every third year. Members of the cabinet cannot serve on the committee.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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# King Gets Nobel Prize

OSLO, Norway—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Negro civil rights leader, today won the Nobel Peace Prize for 1964.



(UPI Photo)

MARTIN LUTHER KING

King was selected by the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian National Assembly from a field reported to include such figures as former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, French President Charles de Gaulle, Sir Anthony Eden and former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

The award carries a cash prize of \$51,600. King is the third Negro and the 12th American to get the coveted award. At the age of 35, the Atlanta, Ga., minister also is one of the youngest persons ever to become a Nobel peace laureate.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner is selected each year by a committee of the Norwegian Par-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

BOSTON GLOBE  
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON HERALD  
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON TRAVELER  
Boston, Mass.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR  
Boston, Mass.

RECORD AMERICAN  
Boston, Mass.

Date: 10/14/64  
 Edition: Five Star Final  
 Author:  
 Editor: Homer Jenks  
 Title: DR. MARTIN LUTHER  
 KING  
 Nobel Peace Prize  
 Character: for 1964  
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 Classification: 100-  
 Submitting Office: Boston  
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ment under terms of the will of the late dynamite magnate, Alfred Nobel.

The award committee never announces the reason for its awards.

Its terse communique today said only:

"The Nobel Committee of the Norwegian National Assembly has decided to award the peace prize for 1964 to Martin Luther King Jr., the sum of the prize is 283,000 Swedish Kroners (\$54,600)."

A short biography of King issued by the committee said: "One of King's characteristics is that he follows the principle of non-violence."

In his campaign for Negro civil rights, King has been arrested more than a dozen times and has been the target of three assassination attempts.

King said from a hospital bed in Atlanta, Ga.: "I am deeply moved and gratified and honored to be chosen for such a significant award."

United Nations Under Secretary Ralph Bunche, the first Negro to win the Nobel Peace Prize, hailed King's selection as "international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for equality . . ." Former U. S. Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy said the honor was "richly deserved."

Eugene (Bull) Connor, former police commissioner of Birmingham, Ala., said: "They're really scraping the bottom of the barrel when they pick him. He's caused more strife and trouble in this country than anyone I can think of."

King was first nominated for the award last January by eight members of Parliament in neighboring Sweden.

At the time, the Norwegian government newspaper Arbeiderbladet said his selection "would give a handshake to all the liberal forces in the American democracy."

Originally, it was Nobel's idea that the peace prize should go to the person "who in the preceding year had done most for the convening of peace conferences and the reduction of standing armaments."

This concept, however, has changed since the first peace prize was awarded in 1901. The prize now is usually given to the person or institution "which has done most for mankind and humanity in the preceding year."

The awards committee is elected by the Norwegian National Assembly, but is an independent body. It meets behind closed doors and there are no reports on its deliberations.

King was in a hospital bed in Atlanta today when he learned he had won the award. Mrs. iKing, a former concert singer, called her husband at the St. Joseph Infirmary, which he entered yesterday "thoroughly exhausted" from a heavy schedule of speaking engagements and a trip to Europe.

Mrs. iKing said he husband said, "Well, really," when she informed him he was the winner. She said he could not quite believe he had won, and asked her, "How do you know?"

The new Nobel Prize winner is head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. A student of Mohandas K. Gandhi's passive resistance movement in India, he concluded that the tactic of "non-violence" could be his most effective weapon against racial segregation in the United States.

He was chosen from a secret list of 20 to 30 names. The prize will be awarded personally by Norwegian King Olaf V at Oslo University Nov. 10.

The other Nobel prizes — in physics, chemistry, medicine, psychology, and literature — will be chosen by the Nobel Committee in Stockholm, Sweden. The medicine award will be announced tomorrow.

The first American to win the Nobel Peace Prize was President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906. The most recent was Dr. Linus Pauling, the nuclear physicist and anti-nuclear campaigner, who won the 1962 award. Other American winners included President Woodrow Wilson, secretary of State Cordell Hull and U.N. Undersecretary General Ralph Bunche.

Bunche became the first Negro to be awarded the prize in 1950. The second Negro winner was Chief Albert Luthuli, South African civil rights leader.

The peace prize for 1963 went to the International Red Cross.

The Nobel Committee, as usual, gave no reason for its choice.

But it was no secret King, a Baptist minister and co-pastor

with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, was cited for his leadership of the American Negro cause.

King, has been in jail more than a dozen times in the cause of racial integration. He is the author of books dealing with his theory of passive resistance to segregation.

He first rose to national prominence when he led the successful Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, in 1956. It was a battle that took a year of walking for Birmingham Negroes. At King's urging the Negroes declined to ride segregated buses. King and other Negro leaders kept the drive going with weekly mass meetings in their churches for the entire year of the boycott.

The peace prize winner is no stranger to violence. At least three attempts have been made on his life. In New York in September, 1958, a woman armed with a letter opener and a loaded pistol stabbed him while he was autographing copies of one of his books in a Harlem department store.



A team of surgeons removed 2½ inches of bone before King recovered. Ironically, it was a member of his own race who stabbed King.

In 1956, an unknown person fired a shotgun blast through the door of King's home. The next year a dynamite bomb was hurled onto the porch of his home. But it failed to explode.

Last May, Dr. King moved his forces into St. Augustine, Fla., where Negro unrest had reached a critical stage. He was again arrested as a result of his anti-segregation activities there.

Following the racial violence in Harlem and Brooklyn last summer, King made a trip to New York and conferred with Mayor Robert Wagner on means of averting further race rioting.

King is married to the former Coretta Scott, who once studied to be a concert singer. They have four children.

King has been president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an active anti-segregation group.

For years he was unchallenged leader of the civil rights movement. During the past few years, however, other groups have broken away from the SCLC. He has been accused by detractors of being too moderate on the one hand, or too militant on the other. Some critics have also accused him of seeking personal fame at the expense of the Negro movement.

His talks with Mayor Wagner last July also stirred controversy among leaders of other Negro organizations in New York. He was accused of being an outsider and going over the heads of local Negro leaders.

In Atlanta Dr. Roy Bell, a dentist, once charged that King was spending too much time making speeches in the north and not enough time in the field.



**NOBEL** Peace Prize winner Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., straightens tie of 5-year-old son, Martin Luther III, as he poses with Mrs. King, their son Dexter Scott, 2, in her lap, and daughter, Yolande Denise, 7. (AP Photo)

King's best known book was "Stride Toward Freedom," published in 1958 by Harper and Brothers.

He has traveled extensively in Europe, Asia, South America and Africa. In 1957, he attended Ghana's independence celebration at the invitation of Premier Kwame Nkrumah.

King was educated in the Atlanta public schools, Morehouse College in Atlanta, Crozer Theological Seminary, in Chester, Pa., the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard and Boston University. He received his doctorate at the latter school.

(United Press International)

# Civil Rights Violence Denounced by Dr. King

ST. LOUIS (AP).—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has denounced violence in the civil rights movement, saying it is "both impractical and immoral."

Dr. King, a Negro, made an unscheduled appearance yesterday before the House of Deputies of the 61st general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

"If the Negro uses violence, the future will be an endless panorama of chaos," said Dr. King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

But a white sociologist said there may be a reason for the violence.

"The poverty revolution is upon us and is crying out for intelligent direction," said Dr. Charles V. Willie, associate professor of sociology and anthropology at Syracuse University. He spoke to the meeting of the women of the Episcopal Church.

## Cites Race Riots

Willie said that to ignore the background of poverty which he said resulted in race riots in northern cities "is putting one's head into the sand."

"Non-violence is the most powerful weapon available to an oppressed people," King told the House of Deputies, made up of lay and clergy delegates. The House of Deputies is part of the bicameral legislature of the Episcopal Church. The other branch is the House of Bishops.

The two speeches came at different meetings during the convention at which the church is expected to take stands one way or the other on Episcopal involvement in civil rights.

Some delegates are against such involvement and others are for it.

For the first time in the 180-year-history of conventions of the Episcopal Church in this country, Roman Catholics attended yesterday's sessions, both in the persons of three priests as official observers, and a swarm of others.

Joseph Cardinal Ritter, Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Louis, and a leader in efforts for moves toward Christian unity at the second Vatican council, assigned about 100

priests and laymen to attend the convention as visitors.

The convention sent a message to Pope Paul VI, assuring him of "our continued prayers" that "God may grant you a abundance of health and strength, and the fullness of divine guidance for your great and immensely responsible task."

## Prayers for Council

"We pray also for the whole council now assembled in Rome, that God the holy spirit may guide all its deliberations and decisions, to the salvation of souls, the further refreshing and invigorating of the holy church, and the good of all men everywhere."

The two-week meeting, a once-in-three years affair, started business sessions yesterday, after opening worship services Sunday night.

Besides the Roman Catholics present, observers and guests also were here from Eastern Orthodox churches and various Protestant bodies, in this country and abroad.

Kenn interest centered on the selection of a successor to the church's presiding bishop, the Rt. Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger, who submitted his resignation yesterday. He previously had disclosed he would leave the post—although still at least six years from the retirement age of 70—because he suffers from Parkinson's Disease.

His resignation was accepted with "extreme regret" by the House of Bishops, which then rose in an ovation for him. It is to become effective "at the pleasure of his successor," to be chosen Saturday.

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# DR. KING DEMANDS GOLDWATER ROUT

Urges Negroes in a Sermon  
Here to Troop to Polls

By M. S. HANDLER

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. called on all registered Negro voters yesterday to help administer a crushing defeat to Senator Barry Goldwater at the polls on Nov. 3.

Like other Negro civil rights leaders who have abandoned their tradition of not publicly endorsing candidates, Dr. King spoke out as guest preacher at the Antioch Baptist Church in the Bedford-Stuyvesant district of Brooklyn.

Dr. King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that the "negative" attitudes of the Republican Presidential candidate on human, political and constitutional questions had compelled him to make the moral decision to demand a crushing defeat for the Arizona Senator.

"I can think of nothing more important than for all people of good will to go to the polls Nov. 3," Dr. King said. "This is the most critical and crucial election in the history of the nation. I don't hate Goldwater. I don't hate anyone. But I believe that Goldwater really believes in what he has been saying."

Dr. King said there was something deeper involved in the election than the candidacy of Senator Goldwater. He defined it as "Goldwaterism."

Dr. King told the congregation that Senator Goldwater endorsed a philosophy that could destroy the nation. A defeat by a small majority would not be enough, he said, because that would leave Goldwaterism, and



**OPPOSES GOLDWATER:**  
The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who urged defeat of Republican candidate in sermon delivered yesterday.

"Goldwaterism must be totally defeated."

The civil rights leader estimated that Negro voter registration in the South had been increased by 800,000 in preparation for the election and that there were approximately 2 million registered Negro voters in the Southern states today.

"If all the Negroes vote the same way, Goldwater would lose every Southern state but Mississippi and Alabama. Even the Good Lord could not win there," Dr. King said.

The Rev. George Lawrence, pastor of the Antioch Baptist Church and an associate of Dr. King in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the congregation during his introductory remarks and announcements:

"There is nothing more important than to go to the polls and elect Lyndon Baines Johnson. Goldwater must be crushed. If that is politics in the pulpit, so be it."

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The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
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## King and SCLC Endorsing LBJ

NEW YORK (AP) — The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. put his Southern Christian Leadership Conference behind President Johnson Sunday, the first time the civil rights group has endorsed any major political candidate in its 10-year history.

King told an overflow church crowd of at least 2,500 that "not just Goldwater, but Goldwaterism" must be defeated. He referred to Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater.

King's guest appearance at Brooklyn's Antioch Baptist church in a Negro section went off without incident despite telephoned threats of bodily harm to the Negro leader.

Pastor George Lawrence said the past week had brought half a dozen telephoned threats from what he said were white extremists complaining that Negroes are "getting too big for themselves."

King's New York appearances often draw irate telephone calls from black nationalist groups, opposed to integration, but Lawrence said this was the first time whites had been heard from.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 3

The Times-Picayune  
New Orleans, La.

Date: 10-12-64

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: Southern Christian  
Leadership Organization

Character:

or

Classification: 100-

Submitting Office: New Orleans

☐ Being Investigated

64 OCT 23 1964

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## King Endorses Johnson, Slaps At Goldwater

NEW YORK (AP)—The Rev. Martin Luther King has put his Southern Christian Leadership Conference behind President Johnson, the first time the civil rights group has endorsed any major political candidate in its 10-year history.

King told a church crowd of some 2,500 yesterday that "not just Goldwater, but Goldwaterism" must be defeated. He referred to Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater.

King's guest appearance at Brooklyn's Antioch Baptist Church in a Negro section went off without incident despite telephoned threats of bodily harm to the Negro leader.

Pastor George Lawrence said the past week had brought half a dozen telephoned threats, reportedly including some from black nationalist groups.

King said recent trips throughout the country have convinced him that Goldwater will win only two states, Mississippi and Alabama.

King said a big Negro vote was essential "to insure not just a victory for President Johnson, but a telling blow against Goldwaterism. . . ."

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2/10/64

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date 10-12-64

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 OCT 21 1964

67 OCT 22 1964

100-106410

# Martin Luther King Warns of Barry

By T. R. BASSETT

DR. MARTIN Luther King, Jr., integration leader, warned last week in Savannah, Ga., that the election of Sen. Barry Goldwater as President would ultimately move the nation "down a dangerous, dark fascist path."

Dr. King said that it is "too risky to put a man in office — who talks so lightly and irresponsibly about war."

Moreover, he said the Republican Presidential candidate fails completely to understand the plight of poverty-stricken Americans.

"Goldwaterism passes by every day looking at people but failing to see them," Dr. King said, to prolonged applause.

The Negro leader who is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference made his remarks during a speech, Thursday night before an overflow audience at the St. Paul Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

The mass meeting was part of the four day eighth annual convention of the SCLC which opened Tuesday in Savannah.

Some 500 delegates representing 210 affiliates in 25 states and Washington, D.C. attended the convention, whose main sessions were held in the Butler Presbyterian Church.

Earlier Thursday, in his annual report Dr. King had told the delegates that "the imminent candidacy of Sen. Goldwater made it essential for us to turn all forces to areas where registration could be readily accomplished and where practical results were possible."

## MAIN THEME

Indeed the convention opened up with the defeat Goldwater note. Marking the first time the SCLC officially endorsed a Presidential candidate, Dr. King at a news conference Monday at the Manger Hotel vowed "all out" support for President Johnson and called on all affiliates to get out in their communities to bring out the vote.

Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, SCLC treasurer and assistant to Dr. King said, "We are going to get out and speak and campaign for the President wherever and whenever necessary."

Dr. King told the new conference that about 2,000,000 were

not registered to vote in the South as compared to 1,100,000 in 1960.

He said, "This can mean the balance of power in the upcoming elections."

Later on Thursday, in his annual report Dr. King noted that "approximately 40,000 (Negro) votes were added in the state of Georgia." He stated that Negro voters now number nearly 300,000 and "this has removed Georgia from the Dixiecrat camp and started her on a path to moderation and progress."

He said that the SCLC's "Operation Breadbasket" a program of economic boycott had been carried out most successfully in Atlanta and had added about \$2 million to incomes of Negroes there.

Dr. King then set forth a new program of broad political action and political reform to win basic social and economic needs of Negroes.

Pointing to full employment which he said Negroes do not have the power to win alone, he observed:

"Such a program calls for political action because it is necessary to create a political power to induce Congress to appropriate billions of dollars.

"We must add our political power to that of other groups, the religious communities, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, to labor, to the liberals and intellectuals, in order to create a broad and strong political force to insure positive action."

At the same time Dr. King emphasized that when it is appropriate, "we will encourage sit-ins, pray-ins, boycotts, picket lines, marches, civil disobedience and any form of protest and demonstrations that are non-violently conceived and executed."

He reiterated the need for a non-violent course and warned against permitting tempers and frustration to flare up in open violence such as happened in Northern ghettos during the

summer.

Dr. King and the convention delegates had high praise for Savannah which just a year before was the scene of direct action and open conflict. He and hundreds of the delegates were lodged in the city's two leading hotels, the Manger and the De Soto.

He observed on the opening night of the convention:

"Savannah has integration matters moved in a very reasonable manner and is one of the most desegregated cities in the South."

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25 OCT 21 1964

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The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 10/21/64

56 OCT 22 1964





**CIVIL RIGHT'S** crusader, Dr. Martin Luther King (seated left) and the Rev. Abernathy (left) and another aide during session in Albany, Ga., in the struggle to combat segregation. King's comment's on cause of so-called Northern Negro "riots," point up the results of segregation and oppression

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The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 10-9-64

"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"

pg. 12

58 OCT 22 1964



Previous winners of the award were Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, for his statements on upgrading American education, and the late President Kennedy and Vice President Nixon for their 1960 television debates.

OCT 7 1964

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_

The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_

The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_

New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_

New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_

New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_

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UPI-126

(PEACE PRIZE)

OSLO--AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING IS THE HEAVY FAVORITE TO WIN THE 1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, QUALIFIED OBSERVERS SAID TODAY.

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE WORLD WAR II, THERE IS AGREEMENT AMONG ALMOST ALL OBSERVERS HERE ON ONE MAN--KING, LEADER OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE--TO WIN THE COVETED PRIZE.

A COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE NORWEGIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CHOOSES THE WINNER. ITS CHOICE IS EXPECTED TO BE ANNOUNCED LATER THIS MONTH. THE SELECTION IS MADE FROM A SECRET LIST OF 20 TO 30 NAMES.

KING'S CANDIDACY HAS BEEN SPONSORED BY LEADING POLITICIANS IN EUROPE AND THE U.S. AND SECONDED BY NEWSPAPERS OF ALL POLITICAL LEANINGS IN NORWAY.

A LEADING RECOMMENDATION CAME FROM EIGHT SWEDISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, REPRESENTING ALL THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES, CALLING FOR KING'S SELECTION.

OTHER NAMES ON THE LIST ARE BELIEVED TO INCLUDE SEN. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER LORD AVON (SIR ANTHONY EDEN), FRENCH PRESIDENT CHARLES DE GAULLE AND FORMER WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR KONRAD ADENAUER. NONE IS BELIEVED TO BE AMONG THE FRONT-RUNNERS.  
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 10A OCT 14 1964

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

64 OCT 15 1964

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# Dr. King Says Barry Follows Risky Path

By FRED PADULA  
Staff Writer

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. contended here last night that the election of Sen. Barry Goldwater to the presidency would ultimately move the nation "down a dangerous, dark Fascistic path."

The civil rights leader also said it is "too risky to put a man in office . . . who talks so lightly and irresponsibly about war."

The Negro president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference claimed Goldwater does not understand the plight of poverty-stricken Americans. "Goldwaterism," Dr. King said, "passes by every day looking at people but failing to see them."

The meeting at which he spoke was attended by an exuberant, overflow audience in St. Paul's CME Church and was a part of the four-day eighth annual convention of the SCLC, which closes today. Last night's

event was originally scheduled at Grayson Stadium, but rain forced a late-hour relocation.

Today's main event will be a panel discussion at 10:30 a.m. on "New Directions Toward Implementation of the Civil Rights Bill."

In his annual report to the conference, Dr. King noted that "approximately 40,000 (Negro) votes were added in the state of Georgia. Perhaps the two most outstanding efforts in the South were held in Atlanta and Savannah." He stated that "the Georgia registration of Negro voters now stands near the 300,000 mark, and this has removed Georgia from the Dixiecrat camp and started her on a path

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 10B

b7(c)

Savannah Morning News

Savannah, Georgia

Date: 10-2-64

Edition: Home

Author:

Editor: Henry H. Schulte, Jr.

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Savannah

☐ Being Investigated

69 OCT 21 1964

File 100-111170

Administration's war on poverty) if it is the start, not the end, of the program."

Ho revealed that a recently planned "right-to-vote effort in Alabama" was postponed after "the Alabama power structure became aware of our plans and they made surprisingly reasonable plans to comply with the Civil Rights Bill" and "the imminent candidacy of Sen. Goldwater which made it essential for us to turn all forces to areas where registration could be readily accomplished and where political results were possible."

Dr. King repeated again and again his theme that the key to the civil rights movement is non-violence, and warned, "this past year we have witnessed the first serious threat to non-violence as the tempers and frustrations of northern ghettos of moderation and progress."

Defining the SCLC's Operation Breadbasket as a "program which calls for support of those businesses that will give a fair share of the jobs and economic withdrawal from those businesses that have discriminatory policies," Dr. King said the program has been carried out most successfully in Atlanta, where \$2 million more has been added to Negroes' incomes in that city.

He stressed that "when it is appropriate, we will encourage sit-ins, pray-ins, boycotts, picket lines, marches, civil disobedience and any form of protest and demonstrations that are non-violently conceived and executed."

"At the same time we recognize that the right of assembly and protest is a relative right subject to regulations to protect the rights of others," and added that "no citizen has the right to engage in rioting, civil disorder, or hoodlomanism in a democracy, no matter how grave his grievances."

Dr. King welcomed a "cautious beginning (to the Johnson

have flared in open violence."

Earlier author Harry Golden of Charlotte, N.C., said the nature of politics in the United States makes it probable that some day Southern white politicians will be courting the favor of Negro voters.

All Negroes have to do is exercise their right of franchise, declared Golden, who is editor of the Carolina Israelite and a writer of best-selling books.

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## Dr. King Leads For Nobel Prize

OSLO, Oct. 8 (UPI) — The Rev. Martin Luther King is the heavy favorite to win the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, qualified observers said today.

A committee appointed by the Norwegian National Assembly chooses the winner. The selection, from a secret list of 20 to 30 names, is expected to be announced later this month.

The civil rights leader's candidacy has been sponsored by leading European politicians and seconded by newspapers of all political leanings in Norway. Other names on the list are believed to include former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, French President de Gaulle and former West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, but none is believed to be among the front runners.

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 J. Edgar Hoover

The Washington Post and Times Herald pg. A-1  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
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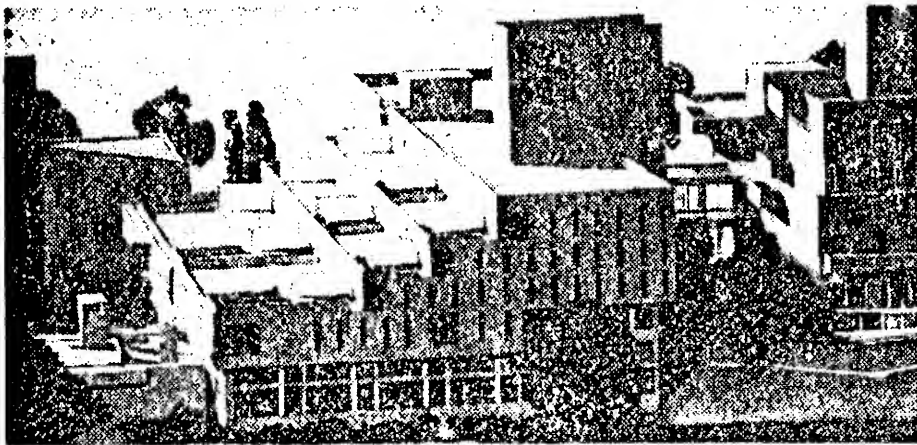
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# Ex-Teacher Got King To Give Papers to B.U.



Where Papers Will Be Stored

Boston University's \$5.5 million library is scheduled for completion in 1966.

By JANE HARRIMAN



HARRIMAN

Last July Boston University sent a distinguished faculty member to Atlanta, Ga., to spend 2½ days packing some papers into cardboard shipping cartons.

They were no ordinary papers. They are material for what will undoubtedly be one of the most inspiring chapters in the history of the American Negro's struggle for freedom: the personal records, correspondence and manuscripts of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., leader in the civil rights movement and president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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A-1 BOSTON GLOBE  
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON HERALD  
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON TRAVELER  
Boston, Mass.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR  
Boston, Mass.  
RECORD AMERICAN  
Boston, Mass.

Date: 9/27/64

Edition: Sunday

Author: Jane Harriman

Editor: Victor O. Jones

Title: Martin Luther  
King

Character: 100-

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Classification:

Submitting Office: Boston

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Dr. L. Harold DeWolf, professor of systematic theology at Boston University School of Theology, went to Atlanta, first to talk to Dr. King about giving his papers to the university and later, to sort them and prepare them for shipment to Boston.

Dr. DeWolf, who was Dr. King's advisor during the years he was earning his doctorate at Boston University, is a personal friend of the King family, and for this reason was selected to coordinate the establishment of the King Collection.

"Dr. King was my student, but shortly after he graduated I feel I became his student," Dr. DeWolf said, his eyes sparkling over the tops of his gold-rimmed spectacles.

### Prize Papers

"He was under considerable pressure to give his papers to another university. I talked to him first by telephone, told him I wanted to come down to see him, and why. I found he was open to the suggestion when he countered by inviting me to spend the weekend with his family and preach at his church on Sunday.

"He wasn't really reluctant to give us the papers, but there were various things which he had to consider."

Many of the papers, letters from former Presidents and prominent people all over the world, were naturally prized by the King family. Also, Dr. King had to consider the possibility that because many of his papers dealt with the Negro community, they should be given to a Negro university.

"I think he had three reasons for making his final decision," Dr. DeWolf said. "I can't quote him exactly, but essentially what he said was: Boston University was his alma mater, and he loved it; that it was a great university and plans for the new library showed that it would be able to make the best scholarly use of the papers; and that Boston University had contributed a great deal not only to his thinking, but to the Negro cause.

"I believe he referred to

the fact that more than half of all the Negroes in the country who hold earned doctoral degrees in religion, got them here, at B.U."

A second discussion on the papers was held in St. Augustine, Fla., when Dr. DeWolf and Dr. King were working on reaching a truce in the civil rights conflict.

"I feel the type of leadership Dr. King has given in civil rights conflicts has great significance not only in this country and in Africa, but all over the world. The non-violence of the Negro revolution has extreme importance. There always are going to be tensions, 'revolutions' in society, but people must learn to carry them out non-violently or we won't survive."

### Packed 15 Cases

Dr DeWolf's next journey in acquiring the papers came last July, when he went down to Atlanta to prepare them for shipping.

"It's kind of an intimate thing, going through someone's papers, and the Kings felt better about the whole process when it was done by someone who knew them. There were personal correspondence from friends, letters Dr. King had written to his wife, papers which involved personal friends, photographs.

"Naturally, the family wants to keep these things, and I could talk to them about what we should ship then, and what it would be best to save for the future. We worked for 2½ days, and they were long days, until 11 or 12 at night, but we packed 15 cases, the size of filing cabinet drawers."

The papers, now being catalogued and processed at the University, will find their permanent home in a \$5.5 million library Boston University will build not two miles down the river from the library to be built in memory of President Kennedy, founder of this year's civil rights bill.

"It is our hope," says Dr. Howard B. Gottlieb, director of B. U.'s division of Special

Collections, "That with the King papers, and the papers of other civil rights leaders which we are in the process of acquiring, that Boston University will become a center for research in the history of the civil rights movement."

Dr. Gottlieb, a graduate of Oxford, was curator of manuscripts at Yale before coming to Boston University a year ago.

"Of course, Dr. King is a relatively young man and has a long public life ahead of him," Dr. Gottlieb said, "but we have made an agreement with him and he will turn over his papers at the end of each year.

"What's interesting to me about the King Collection is that it contains correspondence from so many different kinds of people—from a singer like Lena Horne, to Adlai Stevenson and Prime Minister Nehru.

There is correspondence from Medgar Evers, Ralph Bunche, Harry Belafonte, Sammy Davis Jr., former President Truman, Gen Eisenhower—everyone in public life who felt a compulsion to write him.

"We even have crackpot letters, we call them, everything. Material from his student career, papers he submitted for various classes. He was a bright boy, one of the brightest we ever had here."

Although much of the King Collection is stored in vault, or being treated for storage, many of the letters he received from famous persons are on display in the Chenery library at Boston University.

1-7 E.F.O. Rm. 308-P. 10





### Teacher and Pupil

Dr. L. Harold DeWolf, professor of Systematic Theology, welcomes his former pupil at the Boston University School of Theology, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., back to Boston. Dr. King was in town to make formal presentation of his papers to the university library.

1 - XEROX REF R. B.

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# Pope Paul Condemns Race Bias, Says King

To the Rev. Martin Luther King Pope Paul VI voiced his displeasure with racial injustice and segregation in the United States during an audience at the Vatican, the Negro civil-rights leader related on his return to America yesterday.


"Pope Paul was very strong and forthright in his statement condemning racial injustice," said King on landing at Kennedy Airport. His 10-day tour included Italy, West and East Germany and England.

**Says Europe Fears Barry**  
 The Negro Baptist, head of the Southern Christian Leadership

Conference, reported that he found Europeans had "a deep-seated fear concerning the candidacy" of Republican Presidential nominee Barry M. Goldwater.

"They are literally terrified of a Goldwater victory," King declared. "They feel he symbolizes a trigger-happy philosophy, narrow nationalism and extreme isolation." King said he assured

Europeans that prospects of a Goldwater victory were "very minor."

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- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
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69 OCT 13 1964

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# **NAMES AND FACES**

By William Rollins

## **Dr. King and the Pope**

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. flew into Kennedy Airport from his 10-day European trip and spoke again about his visit with Pope Paul VI: The Pope "was very strong and forthright in his statement condemning racial violence. He made it clear he has kept constantly in touch with what is happening in the United States. This revealed a deep concern which I feel will spread throughout the Catholic world." The minister, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, also commented on the way he found Europeans viewing the Presidential campaign: "They are literally terrified of a Goldwater victory. They feel he symbolizes a trigger-happy philosophy, narrow nationalism and extreme isolation."

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**Dr. King Visits London**  
 Special to The New York Times  
**LONDON, Sept. 21**—The Rev.  
 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. vis-  
 ited London today for the pub-  
 lication of the English edition  
 of his book, "Why We Can't  
 Wait," published in the United  
 States last July.

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UPI-208

(KING)

NEW YORK--THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. SAID TODAY THAT HE WAS "VERY PESSIMISTIC" THAT ANY INDICTMENTS WILL BE RETURNED IN THE SLAYINGS OF THE THREE CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS IN MISSISSIPPI. HE ALSO PREDICTED THAT ALABAMA GOV. GEORGE C. WALLACE WOULD RECEIVE "NOTHING LIKE MAJORITY SUPPORT" IN HIS MOVE TO SECURE A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO BAR FEDERAL INTERFERENCE IN PUBLIC EDUCATION. COMMENTING ON THE RESULTS OF A NEW YORK TIMES SURVEY, HE SAID HE WAS "NOT SURPRISED" THAT WHITE PEOPLE IN NEW YORK CITY FEEL THAT NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS DEMANDS ARE PROCEEDING "TOO FAST AND TOO FAR." HE ASCRIBED THIS FEELING TO "MISUNDERSTANDING" ON THE PART OF WHITES.

AS HE STEPPED OFF A PLANE FROM LONDON, THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE SPOKE GLOWINGLY OF HIS AUDIENCE LAST WEEK WITH POPE PAUL VI AND SAID THAT MANY EUROPEANS HAVE A "DEEP SEATED FEAR" OF SEN. BARRY M. GOLDWATER.

"I THINK IT WOULD BE MOST DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO OBTAIN A CONVICTION AS LONG AS THE PERSONS WHO PERPETRATED THESE MURDERS HAVE TO FACE A JURY IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI," KING SAID.

HE ADDED THAT THE FAILURE TO INDICT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS OF THE THREE WOULD "ENCOURAGE OTHER LIKE-MINDED PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE."

HE CHARGED THAT THE MOVE BY THE ALABAMA GOVERNOR WAS "TYPICAL" OF HIM.

"GOV. WALLACE DOESN'T HAVE TOO MUCH RESPECT FOR THE 14TH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION," HE SAID.

"I DON'T BELIEVE IN ABSOLUTE CENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT. BUT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS SOVEREIGN AND IT CAN'T STAND BY AND ALLOW HUMAN RIGHTS TO BE TRAMPLED OVER."

"THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS THE MORAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY TO STEP IN AND DEAL WITH THIS SCHOOL PROBLEM."

KING SAID THAT THE FINDINGS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES SURVEY RESULTED PARTIALLY FROM THE "MOST UNFORTUNATE" TENDENCY OF NEW YORK CITY WHITE PEOPLE "TO CONFUSE RIOTS" WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

"WE HAVE MADE IT VERY CLEAR THAT LAWLESSNESS IS NOT TO BE CONDONED."

"ALSO, UNFORTUNATELY, WITH AUTOMATION MANY OF OUR WHITE BROTHERS SEE THE NEGRO AS AN ECONOMIC THREAT," KING ADDED.

HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT THERE IS "MORE SUPPORT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AMONG THE WHITE COMMUNITY THAN EVER BEFORE."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

**T**HE Baptist pastor with the reverberating name of Martin Luther King yesterday supped orange juice in London's Ritz and mused about jail. He has been there often; he is probably America's most locked-up man of our time.

He has always gone quietly and without fuss, as befits a Negro gentleman who leads the biggest non-violent protest since Gandhi.

Dr. King is a sort of Protestant mahatma in a business suit; the prophet of what all Americans, good or bad, acknowledge as their moment of truth, the Negro Revolution.

This is a phenomenon too little understood over here, too vaguely appreciated because it has so far been more studiously muted and temperate than one would have believed.

### HIS SPEECH

It is probably the biggest social factor in the world today, and if it has shed so little blood, that is the work of Martin Luther King.

The last time we had spoken was 13 months ago in Washington, at the end of the great Freedom March in which a bi-coloured multitude of 300,000 had proclaimed the inevitability of Civil Rights.

Dr. King had spoken to this supernaturally silent crowd that famous speech: "I have a dream...", which I believe to be the most moving and magnificent public address I ever heard.

We then talked, endeavouring to bounce the television across the Atlantic by Telstar, a process that baffled us both. "I don't understand these things," said Dr. King, who understood matters of far greater importance.

### HIS ARGUMENT

Yesterday he passed momentarily through London, to give a brief British baptism to his new book on the Civil Rights struggle, 'Why We Can't Wait,' which the New English Library now have on the shelves for 5s.

Martin Luther King, who shares with his father the pastorate of a church in Atlanta, Georgia, is the towering and so far unchallenge-

Pictures by  
**FRANK APTHORP**

able leader of the Negro movement of the U.S.

The militants have begun to assail his pacific methods. Only a few weeks ago in the Harlem riots I heard him quite brainlessly denounced as a "Jim Crow Liberal," among the pistol-shots and breaking glass. Dr. King remains tranquil.

His argument is simple: the American Negro can never win his fight by violence, but he can quite easily lose his own soul.

Where this principle has broken down—as it has done in Harlem and Philadelphia and New Jersey—it has done so in defiance of Dr. King.

### HIS OPTIMISM

"Yet you can't blame them altogether," he said yesterday. "So long as these awful conditions endure in Harlem, for example, it will be an explosive area.

"The rows come spontaneously, and of course they're exploited by people who aren't on our side at all. Certainly the Communists made use of the Harlem fighting. Then it becomes infectious. I am afraid these riots are bound to spread. But it's important to know what the riots are about."

It is true. It is a century since the American Negro was legally emancipated. He remains imprisoned on two simultaneous levels; he is black and he is poor. And, in general, he is poor because he is black.

"I'm optimistic," said Dr. King. "Since the Civil Rights Bill got

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London, England

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through, the South has complied quite surprisingly. But we still have housing discrimination, school segregation, unemployment discrimination.

"Our white brothers may have granted us legal rights as citizens, but they still don't grant us the social acceptance which would make those rights meaningful."

Dr. King's book illuminates the whole dilemma. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled on desegregation exactly 10 years ago, and last year still only nine per cent. of Southern Negroes were at integrated schools. At this pace the Negro must wait another 150 years for equality. He will not wait.

### HIS PASSION

He knows that "All in good time," means "Not in our lifetime", and this will no longer do. "Once an individual knows that he is an individual, with human demands and rights, you can't undo it," said Dr. King. "We say: 'We shall over-

come'. It needs discipline, of course."

The remarkable quality of Martin Luther King appears in private. The King I have heard on the platform and the pulpit can be almost ferociously passionate. ("We'll be non-violent even if I have to knock off everyone's block to prove it.")

### HIS ANXIETY

The other evangelist is matter-of-fact and rational to a fault. This is, after all, politics.

"I just saw the Pope. It was very friendly. He seems to be well aware of our struggle, in fact he is going to make a public declaration about it.

"Goldwater? I find it absolutely inconceivable that he could be elected. It just isn't possible. I'm optimistic again. I predict a gigantic landslide for Johnson.

"The way I see it, Johnson declared war on poverty, and Goldwater declared war on peace. You

can't have a trigger-happy man pretending to lead a great nation like ours.

"A Goldwater election would lead to a great dark night of social destruction. I just don't believe in it."

And so today Martin Luther King returns home, to face what must be his increasing anxiety — the attack from both sides; those who assail him for moving too fast and those who denounce him for moving too slowly.

### HIS BRAVERY

"I don't worry too much about the Black Muslims," he said. "They get a lot of lineage, but we are 20-million U.S. Negroes, and I bet there aren't more than 40,000 Muslims. In any case, one has to do what seems best."

It cannot possibly be easy. Dr. King is a brave man; he has somehow created from the ingredients of intolerance and injustice a mutation of rational determination and courage, and he will overcome one day.

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## NAMES AND FACES

By William Rollins



Herald Tribune—UPI cablephoto

The Rev. Martin Luther King briefs newsmen.  
 Questions and answers in London yesterday.

### A Negro Senator?

Dr. Martin Luther King jr. was in London, winding up his European tour with a press conference and a forecast: "I think a Negro in the Senate is a possibility in the next 10 years if things continue in the same way as today. He would probably come from a Northern state, someone like Edward Brook, the Massachusetts Attorney General. I think a Negro would be accepted by the Senate if he were elected." He was there also to help launch the British publication of his book, "Why We Can't Wait" and British newsmen asked him to comment on Britain's growing race problem. His reply: "I don't know too much about the problem here. I am sure the color problem can develop here if the people of good will in this country are not eternally vigilant."

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UPI-137

(KING)

LONDON--THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SAID TODAY THE UNITED STATES COULD PRODUCE ITS FIRST NEGRO SENATOR IN THE NEXT FIVE OR TEN YEARS.

SPEAKING AT A NEWS CONFERENCE HERE, THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER SAID 800,000 NEW NEGRO VOTERS HAVE BEEN REGISTERED SINCE 1961, GIVING THE SOUTH 2 MILLION NEGRO VOTERS. HE SAID HE HOPED FOR A NEGRO REGISTRATION OF 4 MILLION IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS.

"WE ARE MAKING SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS," KING SAID. "WE ARE NOT FAR FROM THE DAY WHEN THE BARRIERS OF SEGREGATION WILL BE COMPLETEDLY DESTROYER IN THE SOUTH."

THE BAPTIST CLERGYMAN ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT NEGROES STILL WERE FAR FROM COMPLETE SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE BY MEMBERS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY.

COMMENTING ON THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, KING SAID THE ELECTION OF SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER "WOULD BE A VERY, VERY TERRIBLE DEVELOPMENT FOR THE NATION."

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ADD KING, LONDON (UPI-137)  
 DISCUSSING THE RECENT VIOLENCE IN NEW YORK'S HARLEM AND IN OTHER  
 AMERICAN CITIES, KING SAID: "VIOLENCE IS BRED, AND WILL CONTINUE  
 TO BE BRED, IN THE GHETTOES OF THE NORTH. IF YOU MADE A SURVEY OF  
 THE NEGROES WHO RIOTED IN HARLEM YOU WOULD FIND THAT 80 PER CENT OF  
 THEM WERE TEEN-AGERS...YOUNG, JOBLESS...HOPELESS.  
 "ALL THEY CAN SEE IS A LONG DESOLATE CORRIDOR, WITHOUT ANY SIGNS  
 OR ANY EXITS."

KING SAID VIOLENCE WILL CONTINUE AS LONG AS THE CONDITIONS  
 WHICH CREATED IT IN THE FIRST PLACE CONTINUED. HE CONSIDERS HARLEM  
 TO BE POTENTIALLY THE MOST DANGEROUS AND DIFFICULT SITUATION IN THE  
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Associated Press

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**Martin Luther King Has Audience With Pope**

Pope Paul VI posed at the Vatican Friday with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during an audience. With them are Msgr. Paolo Marcinkus of Chicago and, at right, the Rev. Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Dr. King's aide.

- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
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Associated Press

## Martin Luther King Has Audience With Pope

Pope Paul VI posed at the Vatican Friday with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during an audience. With them are Msgr. Paolo Marcinkus of Chicago and, at right, the Rev. Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Dr. King's aide.

WASHINGTON Post & Times Herald

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REC-26

# Pope Backs Dr. King In Civil Rights Plea

VATICAN CITY, Sept. 19 (UPI).—The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. met privately with Pope Paul VI yesterday. He said later the Pontiff is "a friend of the Negro and of the cause of civil rights."

The American Negro civil rights leader said he spoke with the Pontiff in the 25-minute Vatican audience about peaceful means for advancing his cause.

"We have a strong endorsement from certainly the foremost leader in the world of Christendom," Dr. King told reporters after the audience.

Dr. King said the Pope promised he would make a public declaration supporting non-violent means for advancing the cause of the Negro and of civil rights.

## PRESENTED MEDAL

Immediately after his audience with the Pope, Dr. King spoke with reporters in St. Peter's Square. He showed them a silver medal of the Ecumenical Council the Pope gave him.

He quoted the Pontiff as saying:

"I am a friend of the Negro people."

Joking about being named after Martin Luther, the religious reformer whom the church condemned as a heretic in 1521, Dr. King said:

"I can assure you this, there are new days ahead when the Pope meets with a fellow with the name of Martin Luther. This is the first time that the Pope met a civil right leader from the United States.

"The Pope was crystal clear about the fact that both he personally and the Catholic Church support the cause of civil rights."

Mr. King said the Pope stated himself clearly in favor of non-violent action and added that the Negroes must obtain their rights.

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**DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING**  
*On Way to Audience With Pope Paul VI*

AP Photo

# **BERLINERS PROMISE SUPPORT TO DR. KING**

Special to The New York Times  
BERLIN, Sept. 13 — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. heard German church leaders and Christian believers Sunday pledge their support of the civil rights movement in America.

Addressing 25,000 West Berliners at a church rally in Wald-buehne Stadium, the Negro in-tegration leader said American Negroes were following the call "to be the conscience of the nation."

Bishop Otto-Dibelius, the 84-year-old head of the Protestant Church in Berlin, declared that "the whole of Christianity will be at your side in your struggle of nonviolence."

Later Dr. King, who was in-vited to Berlin by Mayor Willy Brandt to help open the city's annual Cultural Festival, went across the border wall to preach nonviolence to East Berliners. Several thousand heard his ser-mon at the Marienkirche in downtown East Berlin.

In the morning Dr. King had joined Mr. Brandt at the Berlin Philharmonic Hall to pay hom-age to President Kennedy be-fore a crowd of 2,000.

The correlation of races and the interdependence of African and European culture has been set as the theme of this year's events in the fields of drama, music, ballet and art.

The Berlin Protestant Church conferred an honorary degree of the theological school on Mr. King.

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# The Rev. King in Berlin

ADDRESSING a huge audience at a choir concert which featured the opening ceremonies last Sunday of West Berlin's annual cultural festival, the Rev. Martin Luther King characterized the resistance to the Negro people's freedom struggle in the United States as "cold civil war."

Speaking in the most frigid zone of the "cold war" tension areas between the two social systems in the world — West Berlin — Dr. King assigned responsibility clearly to the Federal Government for the continuation of deprivation of rights of Negro Americans.

"Honest men cannot fail to know," said Dr. King, "that the key to victory in the cold civil war now afflicting the U.S. is in the exercise by the Federal government of its sovereign power over the states."

Dr. King, who has given great inspirational leadership to the struggle of his people to bring down the wall of segregation and discrimination in the United States, was apparently expected to declaim against the East Germans when he was ceremoniously escorted to a visitation point at the Wall that designated the borders of East and West Berlin. But Rev. King would not play their gambit in the cold war.

"The Wall," said Rev. King, "shows the need for a lessening of international tension so that some day Germany and Berlin will be reunified." Later, in addresses to large church audiences in East Berlin, Dr. King prophesied the early arrival of a period when "there will be no East and West, no North and South, but only the boundaryless realm of the brotherhood of man."

Years ago, the late Benjamin Davis wrote that "the Negro question in the U.S. is not a sectional issue but a national issue. Indeed, it is becoming an issue of international significance." The sojourn of Atlanta's Rev. Martin Luther King to divided Berlin is testimony to the wisdom of Benjamin Davis' prediction.

It is indeed of world significance when Berliners assemble to consider an American Negro who is the foremost advocate of the solution of social problems through non-violent methods of mass action.



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# In West Berlin, Dr. King's Call For Rights Action

By United Press International  
BERLIN.

The Rev. Martin Luther King yesterday called for Federal action to enforce civil rights in individual states.

At a ceremony honoring the late President Kennedy, the American Negro leader said the issue now facing the United States is "the degree to which Federal power is paramount and must supersede local state powers."

Dr. King spoke at the West Berlin Hall at a concert opening the city's annual cultural festival. He also visited The Berlin Wall, preached at an Evangelical (Lutheran) Church in the city's Wald-buehne Stadium, was awarded an honorary doctor of theology degree by the Evangelical Kirchliche Hochschule (Church College) and accepted an invitation to preach at an evening service in East Berlin Marienkirche (St. Mary's).

In his stadium speech, Dr. King said the key to the American civil rights crisis is "the exercise by the Federal

government of its sovereign power over the states."

"Sooner or later it will act in this direction as President Lincoln had to act out of necessity," he added.

In a sermon written for his appearance in East Berlin, Dr. King said he avoided politics as such and dealt with the Christian gospel and its power to solve the world's problems.

He said the sermon spoke of the ethic of love and how it is needed to solve basic problems.

Dr. King, in a statement made at The Wall, called the barrier a symbol of the division of mankind.

"The Wall shows the need for a lessening of international tension so that some day Germany and Berlin will be reunified," he said.

Otto Dieblus, Evangelical Bishop of Berlin, said Dr. King was awarded the honorary degree of doctor of theology because of his service to theology, the church and the world.

Dr. King was described as a man who has shown Christians a new way to participate in politics by accenting the importance of Christian love.

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# Dr. King Sees 'Hitlerism' in Goldwater Bid

BERLIN, Sept. 12 (AP).—The Rev. Martin Luther King said tonight he sees "danger signs of Hitlerism" in the candidacy for President of Senator Barry Goldwater.

The American Negro leader made the remark at a news conference after being asked how the fight for justice would be affected by the presidential election.

"I think the fight for justice will be greatly affected by the American election if Senator Goldwater gets elected President of the United States," Dr. King said.

"I am absolutely convinced we will see a dark night of social disruption and this would so intensify the discontent, the frustration and the despair of the disinherited of our Nation, the poverty-stricken people of our Nation, many Negroes of our Nation, that outbreaks of violence and riots would exist on a scale we have never seen before.

"This is not in any way to advocate this and it is not to make the prediction of it as an invitation to it. But I am stating an actual fact.

"But I think nothing threatens the health, the survival and the morality of our Nation more than the possibility of Mr. Goldwater being elected President. . . . We see danger signs of Hitlerism in the candidacy of Mr. Goldwater."

Dr. King flew to West Berlin on the invitation of Mayor Willy Brandt to speak Sunday at a memorial concert for the late President John F. Kennedy.

Sunday evening, he will preach a sermon at Martenkirch, the city's oldest Protestant church, in Communist East Berlin. He said he was urged by Berlin Protestant church leaders to speak in the Soviet sector.

Asked whether the mentioning of riots meant that he could lose control over the Negro people, Dr. King said:

"I have always said that nonviolence does not operate in a vacuum. It thrives better in a climate of justice and up to this point we have been able to maintain a struggle that has been basically nonviolent."

He said if the Negro people "face a setback in this struggle . . . a people who are facing the problems of poverty, the problems of bad housing, problems of local inadequate recreation facilities and substandard schools, if we can not give these people a way out—a sense of hope—then it will be much more difficult to keep the struggle disciplined and non-violent."

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**DR. KING IN BERLIN:** The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., center, as he arrived yesterday in West Berlin to speak at a memorial concert for President Kennedy and to preach at a church in East Berlin. From the left: the Rev. Hans-Martin Helbich, Dr. Rupsrecht Rauch, chief of protocol, Dr. King and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, an associate in his Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Dr. Walter Stein, Berlin Senator.

Associated Press Cablephoto

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Reading for a long, hot summer ...

# M. L. King on a Negro bill of rights

WHY WE CAN'T WAIT. By  
Martin Luther King Jr. New  
York: Harper & Row. \$3.50.

AFTER describing two young  
people, Rev. Martin Luther  
King Jr. wrote in the introduc-  
tion to "Why We Can't Wait,"  
"The boy in Harlem stood up.  
The girl in Birmingham arose.  
Separated by stretching miles,  
both of them squared their  
shoulders and lifted their eyes  
toward heaven. Across the miles  
they joined hands, and took a  
firm, forward step. It was a  
step that rocked the richest,  
most powerful nation to its  
foundations."

This book was written after  
Birmingham and before Har-  
lem. Perhaps if the writing had  
waited for the rioting in Har-  
lem, the words might be dif-  
ferent. Probably they would not  
have been different, only more  
urgent.

King had to know Harlem  
was coming. The foretaste was  
there as clear as day that fate-  
ful night in Birmingham and  
during the weeks of Albany,  
when young "non-movement"  
Negroes took to the streets  
with bricks and bottles.

Every Negro leader and even  
so-called leaders in the country  
knew Harlem was coming. But  
you had to have been in Bir-  
mingham, or Albany, or walked  
the streets of Harlem or your  
own ghetto to be sure.

IT WAS easy for the white  
press of the North to concen-  
trate on the police violence in  
Birmingham and never make  
the rock and brick throwing  
real to the public. Because of  
this an illusion has grown —  
that the civil rights movement  
is made up of about one-third  
"militant" Negroes and two-  
thirds well-intentioned whites,  
most living slightly outside the  
nation's culture.

Harlem shattered the illu-  
sions. First, it made it clear  
that this year all Negroes are  
movement Negroes, with a few  
exceptions.

And it showed something that  
is far more disconcerting to  
some people, something that  
the people in the black bars of  
San Francisco or Atlanta will

clear up in a hurry, if asked:  
those who man today's picket  
lines may be the only ones ca-  
pable of manning them; the only  
people willing to lie down in  
doorways and sing, get thrown  
or beaten into paddy wagons,  
held in jail, handled by sick  
jail keepers, face days and days  
of trials only to end in jail  
again.

Some people only do what  
they think is right and are not  
about to be jailed for doing  
right.

EVERYBODY knew Harlem  
was coming. They differed on  
what to do about it.

Some thought they could hold  
it back. Put the lid on it by  
hollering "red" every time it  
looked like trouble.

Some thought they could  
make it unnecessary by passing  
a civil rights law. NAACP  
head Roy Wilkins, who coun-  
selled moderation when the bill  
was passed, must by now real-  
ize that while the middle class  
Negro can vacation in Gulfport  
as well as Newport, the Ne-  
groes of Harlem still live with  
the rats and the cops (some-  
times interchangeable). And  
the civil rights law can't do  
a damn thing about it.

Some thought they could help  
it along, crying that violence  
is good in and of itself, relying  
on spontaneity as a substitute  
for politics.

Others worked feverishly on  
nonviolent direct action demon-  
strations, hoping against hope  
they could head it off by mak-  
ing quick spectacular progress,  
holding out hope for the frus-  
trated and keeping the chan-  
nels open for the redress of  
grievances.

The latter group is falling

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because the white power structure seeks to crush them, liberals included. Usually sane men are today running around blaming the Congress of Racial Equality for the Harlem riots.

IF ANYTHING the various direct action demonstrations helped to postpone the outbreaks. Only in Harlem they didn't make enough progress to head them off. As important as they were, the World's Fair demonstrations didn't kill one rat or prevent a cop from shooting a Negro student. The irony is that a remedial reading program couldn't save the kid's life.

Why so much attention here on Harlem and so little on King's book? Because two-thirds of the book is about the past, about battles already won or ended.

The civil rights bill marked the end of a period and the beginning of a new one. If one is interested in how it came about the first 151 pages of the book are very informative and inspiring. But as King writes on the 151st page:

"Of what advantage is it to the Negro to establish that he can be served in integrated restaurants, or accommodated in integrated hotels, if he is bound to the kind of financial servitude which will not allow him

to take a vacation or even take his wife out to dine?"

To solve that problem requires more radical alterations than contemporary capitalism appears willing, or able to make. Barry Goldwater understands that. He says he is for equal rights and he may well be. But he is determined that the right to be 20 million Horatio Algiers is as far as equality goes.

But, says King, "The struggle for rights is, at bottom, a struggle for opportunities."

The Negro, he says, is "asking for something special."

THAT'S GOING to be a tough fight. Negroes are not going to win it alone. But one-third of this nation needs the same things the Negro needs and there is increasing evidence they are willing to fight for it.

We must have a program and plan of action for rallying maximum support for major political and economic changes. There aren't too many plans or programs around.

Neither hotel sit-ins nor ghetto brick throwings have much meaning unless we know where we are going with our acts.

How right the Reverend is when he writes, "As certain as it is that a planned gradualism will not work, neither will unplanned spontaneity."

There are still some running around crying "freedom," thinking if we run around fast enough and lock arms tight enough we'll have it "now."

Martin Luther King is still the best political thinker among the Negro leaders. He suffers strong illusions about the role of the federal government but he allows no substitutes for politics.

IN THE last 18 pages of this book he outlines a plan of action and a program. As its brevity suggests it's not complete. He expanded on it in his appearance before the Republican platform committee and promises to do the same for the Democrats who will meet in convention Aug. 24.

It involves a struggle for a "Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged," involving Negroes and whites. It's a start and others can take his lead.

Others who realize "We cannot tap the ghettos in order to screen out a few representative individuals, leaving others to wait in grim shacks and tenements."

—CARL BLOICE



SUMMER — 1964

"Everybody knew Harlem was coming . . ."

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## King Calls N. Y. Most Critical Racial Area

"The most critical area" in the nation's desegregation picture is New York City, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said yesterday.

Dr. King said "a massive economic program" was needed here to head off any further outbreaks of violence like those that flared in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

These racial outbursts, he said, were caused by Negro "frustration and seething desperation." He said that Communists helped to keep the outbursts going.

Dr. King told a press conference at Kennedy Airport that racial trouble spots besides New York were Philadelphia, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Chicago and Detroit.

The Negro leader was returning from the European Baptist Federation conference in Amsterdam. Today, he said, he will appear before the Democratic Platform Committee in Washington.

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Dr. King in Amsterdam  
 AMSTERDAM, The Netherlands, Aug. 15 (Reuters)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. arrived here Saturday from New York.

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## DR. KING SAYS NEGRO MUST SHUN VIOLENCE

AMHERST, Mass., Aug. 10 (AP) — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today the civil rights cause had made significant strides but still had a long way to go.

Speaking at the World Assembly of Youth, the civil rights leader said:

"Violence might bring about temporary victory, but it cannot bring about permanent peace."

Dr. King said that a takeover of the present Negro leadership in the United States by military forces such as the Black Muslims would work against the Negro cause.

In a question-and-answer session following his speech at the University of Massachusetts, Dr. King said that the civil rights position of Senator Barry Goldwater gave support to racists.

He endorsed the Arizona Senator's sincerity but said that Mr. Goldwater "articulates a philosophy that, if followed in international affairs, could plunge the world into an abyss."

Dr. King told the overflow crowd of delegates to the assembly and university students that the antipoverty program of the Johnson Administration could offset the danger of riots and disorders.

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# Barry Win Would Be World Disaster—King

By ROBERT M. LEVEY  
Globe Reporter

AMHERST—The youth delegate from Uganda wanted to know what would happen if Barry Goldwater became President of the United States.

The man he asked was hardly a Goldwater supporter. It was Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, symbolic leader of the civil rights movement in America.

Seated before him were about 500 young people who came to this green and lovely college town to meet in serious assembly as a sort of unofficial United Nations. From a hundred countries they traveled to debate intense human issues at the fifth World Assembly of Youth.

Dr. King had spoken on the

non-violent movement he has led. He had traced the centuries of subjugation the Negro in America has suffered. He had spoken eloquently of the subtle concepts of love which have dominated his quest for freedom, justice, and equality for all men.

He pondered the question, and then repeated it: "What would happen if Goldwater was elected?"

"God forbid!"

That was Dr. King's answer to the delegate from Uganda's question.

The hall full of delegates at the University of Massachusetts burst into spontaneous applause. Africans clothed in tribal robes; Europeans in closely cut sports clothes; Latin Americans listening to the translation in Spanish—they all applauded.

## No Animosity

Dr. King went on:

"I feel no animosity toward Sen. Goldwater. I am sure he is a sincere man and believes what he says. But if his articulated philosophy in foreign affairs were followed, it could bring us to the abyss of destruction."

And of Goldwater's civil rights position:

"It gives aid and comfort to the racist. I am not saying he is a racist, but his philosophy could serve as an umbrella under which all sorts of extremists could group."

"Furthermore he has no understanding of the problem of poverty facing 40 million Americans. He thinks people are poor because they are lazy."

"What do I think would happen if he were elected?" he repeated.

"I think it would be disastrous not only to this nation, but to the world."



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

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Boston, Mass.

BOSTON HERALD  
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON TRAVELER  
Boston, Mass.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR  
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RECORD AMERICAN  
Boston, Mass.

Date: 8/11/64  
Edition: Morning  
Author: Robert M. Levey  
Editor: Victor C. Jones  
Title: Martin Luther King

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